

Universal Primary Education: A History of Failure

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by

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Abstract

My study explored the international attempts to provide Universal Primary Education (UPE) and to discover the reasons for their failure. There have been international initiatives intended to achieve UPE since the end of World War II, yet there are 72 million children worldwide left without access to primary education. I hope that the information presented in this paper will lead to improved initiatives in UPE in the future.

The study is oriented in Critical Theory and uses Grounded Theory as a methodology in order that the obstacles in achieving UPE emerge from the data. The data came from literature regarding UPE. This literature is largely from international institutions and academic journals that focus on international development.

I found that a lack of funding and inappropriate international policies have poisoned UPE initiatives before they are implemented. The international powers that have dominated these efforts have used an educational philosophy that is irrelevant for the local contexts. Not only has this led to 72 million children lacking access to primary school but numerous others receive an inadequate education where many do not reach minimum literacy and numeracy levels. The educational philosophy dominant in international initiatives is based on human capital theory and neoliberalism. These philosophies have a narrow economic perspective that is irrelevant to communities in developing countries looking to expand access to education.

This information can be used to reorient current and future endeavors in expanding access to primary education. An international institution based on the model from the Global Fund to fight AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria would solve many of the cur-

rent problems. Such an institution would pool funds and include more stakeholders in decision making ensuring that local communities contribute to the education plans in their region. Furthermore, if such an institution used the Freirean Perspective in its educational philosophy further problems could be avoided. The Freirean Perspective pursues equality and progress towards democracy through respectful dialogue between the stakeholders in education. This would ensure a more robust definition of development where educational opportunities are increased.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Access to education is often unquestioningly accepted as one of the most important human rights and was incorporated into the United Nation's declaration of Universal Human Rights in 1948. With a long history of mass schooling in North America and Europe, universal education is taken for granted and people do not realize that many children in other parts of the globe do not have access to the most basic of schooling. Some believe that "the invention of universal compulsory publicly funded education was mankind's greatest social invention" (Thurow, 1999 as cited in Torres, 2002, p.376). This statement, when applied globally, provides the theoretical basis for this paper. If universal education is the greatest social invention, why are 72 million children currently not enrolled in primary school in the world (UNESCO, 2010)? Furthermore, with most of these children in developing countries (UNESCO, 2010), why is there resistance to the international efforts to achieve universal education?

This thesis uses Critical Theory as its philosophy with Grounded Theory as its methodology. Critical theory is used to empower and emancipate the people of oppression by bringing to light oppressive policies. Grounded Theory is the method used to discover the oppressive policies. The literature surrounding the efforts to achieve Universal Primary Education (UPE) is to be analyzed and categorized in order to discover common themes which then become the 'theory'. In this case the categories are the reasons behind the failure to achieve UPE. I expect these theories to propose a shift from a centrally controlled top-down model where policies come largely from international organizations and actors to a model where local populations have

more control and input in deciding their own educational model. Critical theory supports these expectations in its support of the oppressed.

Research Questions

- What is UPE?
- How have the efforts to achieve UPE developed?
- What are the theories behind providing UPE?
- To what extent has UPE been achieved thus far?
- What has prevented UPE from being achieved?
- What interventions may then successfully achieve UPE?

The Researcher

I have been a teacher in Saskatchewan since 2002. Primarily this has been as a Core French teacher and it was this subject that led me to post-graduate studies at the University of Saskatchewan. My primary goal entering the college was to improve Core French, hence my choice of Curriculum Studies. However, my multilingualism and love of travelling soon sent my interests in different direction.

My travels have led me to an interest in global education in a roundabout way. My first year outside of Canada was in France in 2002. I used this year to

improve my French but I also had the opportunity to teach English to high school students. This experience sparked my interest in foreign educational and political systems. In 2006, decided that I needed to further my global consciousness after a summer return to Europe to visit friends. I found a temporary position in England (another short experience of a foreign political and educational system) in order to better find an opportunity in continental Europe. This came soon after in northern Germany. I became a professional English teacher to bankers at the moment the financial crisis hit the world in 2008. This was an opportunity for me as I received a free education in global issues or macroeconomics through daily discussions with high level bankers. This period of education in global issues led me to my decision to leave Germany.

My first reason to leave was to further my education in the area of economics and political studies. I found a master's programme in Nice, France where I was able to take courses on international relations and macroeconomics; moreover, I was able to work on my languages as it was taught in French, German, and English. This decision coincided with the development of what has become my main interest and goal: to learn how to best help people beset by poverty. I was able to combine this new interest with my move to Nice. I decided to raise awareness about poverty by attempting to move from Kiel, Germany on the Baltic Sea to Nice, France on the Mediterranean by rollerblade. To realize

this event properly, a large amount of research on poverty issues was required prior to departure. The trip itself allowed me to consolidate my knowledge and to discover new areas of inquiry with constant questions from people I encountered along the route.

The master's degree in Nice allowed me to learn about international relations and macroeconomics and to relate them to my own international development knowledge and beliefs. My thesis, *Europe and Development Aid in the 21st Century*, furthered my knowledge of current initiatives in international development. Following this program I returned to Canada to finish my Master of Education where I had a new expertise and interest in international development and poverty alleviation and wanted to include these topics in my education studies - hence this study looking at global efforts at providing UPE.

My interest in the provision of UPE goes deeper than a simple correlation between education and international development. My personal philosophy is based on the idea that equality and progress comes from providing equal opportunities. Educational opportunities are pivotal to create equal opportunities since education is an area of intervention that can be implemented early in a person's life; therefore, they can be proactive rather than reactive. Stated simply, if everyone were provided the same educational opportunities, more people, theoretically, would experience a higher standard of living from social mobility

and greater generational employment mobility. This has been supported by different studies comparing international education standards. I have found that my philosophy corresponds somewhat to Amartya Sen's *Development as Freedom* (1999). Sen believes that increasing people's freedoms is both the means and ends of development. The right to education is one of these freedoms that is vital to development (Sen, 1999). It is well understood by Sen and myself that education alone is insufficient as a strategy. For example, education without adequate employment or further education opportunities to follow leads to people being overqualified for jobs and thus this education may be wasted. However, I believe that education is one of the most important strategies in that it targets children and therefore leads to better possibilities for these children. The philosophical assumption driving this paper is this: the provision of a quality primary education will lead to development as people without access to education are in some of the worst conditions of poverty to be found.

I am qualified to answer these questions for several different reasons. My background in education has had a global aspect. First, I was a social studies major with my undergraduate degree and took several history classes of an international nature. Second, my multilingualism and teaching experience in four different countries have added some real experience to understanding foreign educational and political systems. My experiences in Europe have given me a

level of expertise in international development. This began with my charity trek across Europe where I demonstrated my knowledge about poverty issues. This was backed up with a Master of International Studies where I was able to study international development from international relations and macroeconomic perspectives.

Definition of Terms

Education is the key term throughout this paper and therefore has to be clarified. The oldest forms of education are child rearing practices in the home or within the community (La Belle, 1984). This falls into the category of Informal Education, where people acquire knowledge, skill, attitudes, and insights from daily experiences throughout their life.

In contrast, “Formal education is the most commonly found institution and most commonly shared experience of all in the contemporary world “ (Dale & Robertson, 2003 cited in Spring, 2008). However, there are many different kinds of education. Western Formal Education is an institutionalized, chronologically graded, and hierarchically structured education system, spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of university (La Belle, 1984). Throughout this paper, when the term education is used it will refer to Western Formal Education as the majority of research only measures this form of education. One reason for this bias is a convergence around the organization and curriculum of educational systems around the world (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001). As this organization is centred around the school,

schooling will be a synonym describing the Western Formal Education system as it commonly occurs in a school. Furthermore, the paper is focused on the efforts for UPE which only measure education as the Western Formal System; hence it is appropriate that the paper uses the same terminology.

Non-formal education is similar to the Western Formal system in that it encompasses organized and systematic educational activities (Watson, 1994). Yet, non-formal education occurs outside of the formal system and includes agricultural extensions, community development, consciousness raising, technical and vocational training, literacy and basic education programmes, and family planning. These programs are most often in the Western style as well but are used to reach populations in developing countries where formal education is inaccessible such as marginal urban and rural groups (La Belle, 1984).

Nonetheless, education is not a Western phenomenon: “In virtually every society of Asia and North Africa, as well as in the Mayan, Aztec, and Incan societies of the new world, formal education was well established prior to contact with the West” (Benavot & Riddle, 1988, p.176). While many of these education systems have been replaced or are least ignored by Western interests, these non-Western systems of education will be labeled local or indigenous education.

The global measurement of education finds its roots in the United Nations’ declaration of education as a human right in 1948. This signaled a push for UPE which is defined as a country having over 95% of its children enrolled in a primary school. Furthermore, “UPE involves entering school at an appropriate age, progressing through

the system and completing a full cycle” (UNESCO, 2010). A full primary cycle is defined as 5-6 years of schooling. Universal Basic Education can also be found in the literature but has a slightly different meaning. Basic education includes the middle year grades or up to the younger adolescent years whereas primary education should finish before the child reaches adolescence. This study will avoid the term basic education to avoid confusion.

There are two groups of countries that are often described in the push for UPE: developed and developing. Developed countries are more easily grouped by their membership in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). The majority of this group are wealthy Western Nations that have achieved UPE. These countries are often donor countries as well - meaning that they provide resources for developing countries. Recently this association between developed nation and donor has become blurred by the emergence of China and its involvement in developing countries, primarily sub-Saharan Africa (Moyo, 2009). The transfer of resources (mostly financial or alimental) from a wealthy country to a poor one was formerly termed foreign aid and is now termed Official Development Assistance (ODA). These transfers occur bilaterally, directly from one country to another, or multilaterally, through a multilateral organization like the United Nations, the World Bank, or the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Armon, 2007).

Developing countries are countries that have a low income per capita and have the highest instances of poverty. While many developing countries have achieved UPE, all

countries that have not are in the developing world. They can also be called recipient countries as they receive ODA from wealthier countries.

The indicators of UPE are also important to define. Most measures of UPE count the number of children enrolled for primary school out of the number of children of the appropriate age, called the net enrollment ratio. As the number of students completing primary school is not measured, a second indicator is often used - the Primary Completion Rate. The difficulty with these indicators is that there is no provision for older, returning students, students that repeat a level, late entry students, or students that are enrolled but do not attend school (Bloom, 2007). A further description of difficulties regarding the measures of UPE will be presented in Chapter 3.

Later international initiatives further cloud the definitions surrounding UPE. Two main definitions come into this area: the first describes quality and the second is an international effort to provide universal education championed by UNESCO. As some countries, like Uganda and Kenya, pushed universal education, they did so without the capacity. For example, a country would legislate free schooling and mandatory attendance but lack the number of qualified teachers and facilities for the influx of students. Large classes (sometimes up to 70 students per teacher) and teachers without adequate qualifications led to students completing school with low literacy and numeracy skills. This added the qualifier of *quality* to some definitions of UPE and signaled a shift that providers should measure education beyond enrollment ratios.

A UNESCO effort furthers the earlier international initiatives for UPE and was named *Education for All* (EFA). The confusion occurs in that Education for All sounds

similar to UPE and some use the phrase synonymously. However, EFA is simply an effort to better coordinate all development agencies towards universal education so as to have better results. There is an even more recent effort under the World Bank umbrella called the *Fast Track Initiative* (FTI). This is simply the World Bank's efforts to achieve the goals of EFA.

The current United Nations backed attempts are of importance as well. In 2000, the UN adopted the *Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs). These goals give quantifiable targets with deadlines designed to reduce world poverty. The goal most pertinent to this study is MDG2: to achieve UPE by 2015. The MDGs are important in that many of the studies related to measuring universal education are done in reference to MDG2. Two additional terms appear because of the MDGs: on-track and off-track. On-track countries are expected to meet UPE by 2015. Off-track countries are not expected to meet this target. Most of these off-track countries are found in sub-Saharan Africa (United Nations, 2009).

Thus we come to the term UPE. The use of UPE in this paper refers to the efforts that have been put forth since 1948 to expand access to education to all children of the world. The guiding principles, research, monitoring and evaluation of UPE have largely been provided by UNESCO. Nevertheless, the majority of the funding for the efforts towards UPE have come from the World Bank and through bilateral aid agreements between members of the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD which is made up of the wealthy Western Nations such as the USA, Canada, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Japan. Hence, UPE refers to the efforts of the rich countries of

the world either through bilateral or multilateral efforts to expand access to primary education to all the children of the world.

More recently UPE has included terminology relating to the quality of education alongside the traditional ideas of expanding access. When using the term quality with education, this paper will be referring to literacy and numeracy levels. Most often, this terminology will be used when referencing the poor quality of education in developing countries - meaning students that complete cycles of schooling but do not achieve minimum levels of literacy and numeracy.

Lastly, there are different philosophical orientations to different eras or initiatives of UPE. The initial pushes for UPE with the creation of UNESCO were deemed to be redistributive in nature. Redistributive ideals of UPE is based on the purpose of education in the welfare state - that education can be an instrument that promotes equality. Later, neoliberal ideals were pushed through UPE efforts. Neoliberalism is based on the equalizing and wealth creation possibilities of free markets and free trade to which government and regulation are a hinderance (Harvey, 2008). For UPE, this means that education is to serve and be modeled on business structures and privatization of education systems is preferred to public systems (Mundy, 1998; Watson, 1994). Neocolonialism is also a term used for UPE efforts. It refers to the domination of UPE efforts by powerful Western powers (often former colonial powers) with the purpose of UPE being to maintain their power over developing countries. Neoliberalism often works as a part of neocolonialism.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
EFA	English for All
G7	Group of 7
FTI	Fast Track Initiative
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LICs	Low income countries
MGDs	Millennium Development Goals
MGD#	Millennium Development Goal #_
MICs	Middle income countries
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Plans
UN	United Nations

UNESCO United Nations' Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

UPE Universal Primary Education

USD United States' Dollars

WTO World Trade Organization

Possible Contributions of the Study

The purpose of critical theory is to empower and/or emancipate oppressed peoples (Tripp, 1992) and help people become aware of the bases of their actions (McNabb, 2009). Thus it would be ideal to direct this paper at people who have not received the human right of a free education in order to better fight for this right. Having said that, these people are often inaccessible as they are mostly found in remote rural areas of developing countries. As a result, the more likely audience is the people responsible for the failure to achieve UPE. For decision makers in education this paper can be used to raise awareness of the background of their failed policies and suggest new areas of action. Additionally, this paper can be used to further research in the area of education for development and global education.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In order to analyze the current state of the efforts to achieve UPE, it is important to understand the history and philosophical background of the efforts to put all children into school. This chapter is set up chronologically. The origins of mass education are presented first and the chapter progresses up to the current state of UPE.

The Origins of Mass Education to WWII

In order to understand the background of our modern concept (or concepts) for UPE, it is necessary to understand why, where, and how the idea that education should be for the masses first took hold. In the terminology of the previous sentence one gains an insight into one of the changes that took place in the middle of the 20th century. Universal (primary) education has the connotation that all children are to receive an education while mass education can be used for different groups or regions. Or, more precisely, that education became available for one mass of people - the people that make up Western society. This section describes the evolution of mass education up to the Second World War.

The Western education system has a long history. Going as far back as ancient Greece, the stoic philosopher Epictetus promoted education stating that “only the educated are free” (Van Winkle, 2003). However the modern ideal of education for the masses did not take hold until the 19th century. There are several theories to explain the expansion of mass education including religious, political, and economic theories. While all of these factors influence education, the expansion of education has followed

the expansion of the Western nation-state model (Boli, Ramirez, & Meyer, 1985; Meyer, Ramirez, & Soysal, 1992). Education became the main tool to socialize individuals into members of a citizen-based nation-state and economic system (Boli et al., 1985).

France, providing the first example of the modern nation-state following the French Revolution at the end of the 18th century, also produced a national public system of education thereafter. Previously, education was for the elite (Benavot, Resnik, Corrales, Benavot, & Resnik, 2006). Prussia, looking to galvanize a national citizenry of its own, had implemented in law compulsory schooling to the age of 14 by 1830. As both France and Prussia were large countries with diverse populations, their systems were designed to make their citizens loyal to the state, to provide trained personnel for the public administration and military, and to mobilize society for economy and industry (Benavot et al., 2006).

Many European countries and their colonies or former colonies, such as Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, soon followed in providing mass education. Still, as many of these countries were smaller and/or more homogeneous than France and Prussia, education could go beyond building a national citizenry (Boli et al., 1985). For example, innovation in the US created a need for more educated labour - the telegraph in the late 19th century being one of these innovations (Kliebard, 2004).

While Canada, Australia, the USA, and New Zealand had reached UPE by 1900, other European colonies had a different educational experience (Benavot & Riddle, 1988). Education expansion was slow in the colonies until World War I and different

colonial powers left different legacies of education. French colonies had the most pronounced system in their colonies with a singular goal - to educate an assimilated elite to help run the administration or government of the colony; therefore, very few children had access to schools (Benavot & Riddle, 1988; Benavot et al., 2006). Meanwhile Belgium, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Portugal had more children enrolled in primary school in their colonies to train lower level jobs like clerks and secretaries, yet they too were far from offering UPE (Benavot & Riddle, 1988).

Enrollment ratios pre-WWII are difficult to locate and standardize as indigenous and non-Western schools may not have been included in the statistics from this period and ages of students were not recorded (Benavot & Riddle, 1988). Nevertheless, enrollment trends can be tracked and ratios have been estimated from available records. At the start of the 19th century few children had access to education; however, in 1870 33% of children were already enrolled in primary school (Benavot & Riddle, 1988). By 1940 this had risen to 41% (Benavot & Riddle, 1988). In the period of 1870 to 1940 most of this expansion occurred in Eastern Europe, Central America, and Asia (Benavot & Riddle, 1988). This period was also one of debating educational philosophy. Egalitarian and peace theories of education arose alongside the older economic and nation-building theories (Benavot & Riddle, 1988; Kliebard, 2004).

At the outset of the Second World War in 1939 there were a few common threads to global education. First, mostly through colonialism, the Western Formal style of education was found across the globe. Second, mass education did not coincide with industrialization but with the spread of the Western form of the nation-state (Boli et al.,

1985; Meyer et al., 1992). In fact, education preceded industrialization in Prussia and the western states of the USA and followed industrialization in the UK (Meyer et al., 1992). Lastly, less than half of the world's children were enrolled in school at a time when the ideas of the welfare state were developing. At this point, full enrollment in primary education was a reality only in wealthy Western nations and who showed little interest in expanding education to the colonies.

UPE Gets Real: WWII - 1970s

In response to the devastation of the Second World War there was a global attack on exclusion, and pushes for equality and empowerment (Schofer & Meyer, 2005). Education was seen as a key instrument to accomplish these goals; thus the world experienced a massive expansion of public education - across the globe more students were going to school for more years (Berthelot & Clandfield, 2008). In the developed world this meant expanding secondary and tertiary school opportunities while in the developing world primary schooling was expanded. This section explores the philosophical basis for this period of global expansion of education, its institutionalization, and the outcomes accomplished by the 1970s.

As early as the 1890s the American Lester Frank Ward (a predecessor to John Dewey) was an early prophet of the welfare state. He argued for an egalitarian view of education to be used as a potent instrument of social progress (Kliebard, 2004). Despite this work, it took the economist John Maynard Keynes to popularize such ideas globally. Keynes was hugely influential following the Great Depression with his critique of the capitalist system and its inherent inability to ensure full employment or equality of

income. He argued that in such a system it becomes the duty of the state to ensure full employment and reduce inequalities by providing a social safety net (Berthelot & Clandfield, 2008; Mundy, 1998). Education was important in this social state as it was associated with protecting children's rights, pursuing greater equality, and economic growth (Berthelot & Clandfield, 2008).

Keynesian ideas also influenced the creation of the international institutions of the United Nations Organization and the Bretton Woods Institutions which were designed to spread the liberal program, control against economic fluctuations, and promote peace (Mundy, 1998). Egalitarian ideals at the international level were accomplished by redistribution of resources from developed nations to developing and/or newly independent nations. This redistribution was called foreign aid (later official development assistance) and took the form of low interest loans, grants, and resources such as food or technical assistance. Foreign aid can be distributed multilaterally, through international institutions; bilaterally, directly from one actor - usually a developed nation to a developing nation; or from a private non-profit organization (Tilak, 1988). At this time education was viewed as important for the reconstruction of Europe, the equalization of less developed countries, and to found a peaceful democratic civilized society (Mundy, 1998).

The key multilateral agency in the education sector to promote these ideals was the United Nations' Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). UNESCO was the embodiment of education as a human right, and it promoted science, equality, democratic participation, and the importance of education for national

development (Schofer & Meyer, 2005). The first director of UNESCO, Julian Huxley, hyped the organization for its ability to fight against the propaganda of World War II and to bring the benefits of education to under-developed regions (Huxley, 1948). To achieve these goals the key responsibilities of UNESCO were to collect, evaluate, and disseminate factual information on education globally (Benavot & Riddle, 1988). This mandate was undermined by profound underfunding early in UNESCO's history as the new international organizations expected the funding that instead ended up in the Marshall Plan which was an American fund set up to finance the rebuilding of Europe (Mundy, 1998). While UNESCO's creation and existence institutionalized the redistributive ideal to global education (Mundy, 1998), this ideal was more and more politicized over the decades. In the 1950s UNESCO worked with local education actors and with international non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Nonetheless, financial pressures on UNESCO and a more interstate system focus in the UN caused UNESCO to focus on regional and national education planning and they were excluding NGOs by the 1960s (Mundy, 1998). In its first two decades, UNESCO had gone from redistributive agency promoting education to a mediator between developing countries demands for education funding and international development resources. Literacy and the promotion of mass public were among the original goals of UNESCO, the change of the function of the organization is demonstrative of the loss of these goals as a global priority (Mundy, 1998).

The World Bank was set up along the same ideals as the Marshall Plan but with a priority to promote economic growth globally using a strategy of industrializing poor countries in contrast to the Marshall Plan's strategy of rebuilding Europe (Pereira, 1995).

This translated into foreign financing for infrastructure investments which began to include education in 1962 (Pereira, 1995; Tilak, 1988). The World Bank was the big winner of the expansion of resources for international development in this period characterized by former colonies gaining independence and the Western world wanting to contain communism in the Cold War starting in the 1950s (Mundy, 1998). Education was included in the World Bank portfolio using economic rationale with the possibilities of returns on investment in education (Rose, 2003). Education returns were said to be higher than other investments and to be higher in developing countries than in developed ones (Rose, 2003; Tilak, 1988). Using this reasoning based on economic development and growth (and later human capital creating growth), the World Bank gradually became the largest single multilateral financier to education in the developing world (Tilak, 1988).

The 1950s and 1960s saw some positive results in enrollment rates. There was an expansion of the formal education system globally and foreign aid helped some African countries expand their education systems after independence due to a prior lack of teachers and resources (Tilak, 1988). However, there was insufficient expansion in the formal education system, there was an inadequate financing for the demands of developing countries, and the granting of resources did not equate to the needs of recipient countries (Mundy, 1998; Tilak, 1988). First, despite recommendations from UNESCO and World Bank, studies showed the greatest investment returns are to primary education, yet most development assistance to education focused on secondary, vocational, and higher education (Mundy, 1998; Tilak, 1988). As much as 80% of education aid flows went to higher education (Tilak, 1988) resulting in university

enrollments outpacing primary school enrollments during this period (Schofer & Meyer, 2005). Second, while bilateral aid overshadowed multilateral aid, neither saw many resources reach the children of developing countries. 80% of bilateral aid and aid from UN agencies went to technical assistance (Mundy, 1998; Tilak, 1988). The World Bank in the 1960s had 69% of its educational lending go to construction and 29% was spent on equipment (Tilak, 1988). Third, most aid was tied to a Western style of schooling that may not have been able to make an impact because of ignorance of local culture and context; the experts that provided technical support suffered from the same ignorance (Mundy, 1998; Tilak, 1988).

By the end of the 1960s there were few international efforts in line with the global redistributive ideal. UNESCO's legacy of this period was to spread a model of education promoting economic modernization and growth and national citizenship (Mundy, 1998). The World Bank was increasingly becoming involved in the education sector but ignored primary education with loans for infrastructure and materials for secondary and higher education (Mundy, 1998; Tilak, 1988). Correspondingly, bilateral donors, mostly belonging to the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), preferred bilateral channels for their aid flows in order to support their own domestic services and geopolitical interests (Mundy, 1998). In other words, the ideal of education to promote equality and support developing nations had a short shelf life. The agency responsible for these ideals (UNESCO) never received adequate funding and the funding destined for education was spent on ineffective experts from the West and on construction supplies which tended to come from the donor countries.

UPE meets Neoliberalism

In the period from WWII to 1970s there was a gradual shift in the rationale for UPE. It went from promoting the Keynesian welfare state to ensuring the self-interests of powerful nations in the international arena. For global education this shift could be seen with the creation of UNESCO that worked with NGOs and local communities, then its marginalization and politicization from a lack of support and from tying its resources. The economic crises of the 1970s exacerbated this trend with neoliberal economics replacing Keynesianism and neoliberal policies were implemented in the 1980s with catastrophic consequences for the developing world and efforts for UPE (Berthelot & Clandfield, 2008). Neoliberalism pushes policies that reduce government spending, privatize public institutions (like education), and deregulate industry (Harvey 2008; Mundy, 1998). This section describes the changes that occurred in the 1970s, details the background of neoliberalism that came to the fore from the stresses of these events, recounts how neoliberalism changed the nature of international development - particularly with the World Bank and UNESCO, and finally explains the effects these changes had and what it meant for UPE.

Trends that continued from the 1960s and the major economic events of the 1970s set the stage for a new order in international development in the 1980s that profoundly affected global education. Starting in the 1960s there was contestation to the Western world order both domestically and from foreign actors. Globally, developing nations were complaining of the exploitive economic relationship between northern and southern nations and founded the group of 77 in the United Nations to defend their

interests (Mundy, 1998). Also in the 1960s, there were youth, women, anti-racist, and peace movements that were questioning and weakening the state system. As Keynesian ideas were the basis of state system, support for these ideals waned as well. (Mundy, 1998). Still, the greater threat to the Keynesian state developed in the 1970s in the form of 'stagflation'. Stagflation, describing a period high unemployment and inflation, was not possible according to the Keynesian model (Harvey, 2008) and its effects were exacerbated by the oil embargos of OPEC. With American global influence waning as a result of overspending on the arms race, the growth of West Germany and Japan (Torres & Schugurensky, 2002) and economic uncertainty abound, there was a broad questioning of the world order (Mundy, 1998).

The first responses were more from the left side of the political spectrum. In social democratic states there was a growth of socialist groups who called for more redistributive global efforts to deal with the economic crisis (Harvey, 2008; Mundy, 1998). With support from social democratic nations, an international development rhetoric was implemented that had a 'basic needs' approach. After a period of non-growth, UNESCO was one of the international agencies that used this approach and was to focus on basic human services like primary education (Mundy, 1998). Education aid was to be shifted to basic and non-formal education targeting the poor and vulnerable (Mundy, 1998). However, with skepticism from donor countries, the basic needs approach soon gave way to the neoliberal policies of the 1980s (Mundy, 1998).

Neoliberalism is the belief that "human well-being can best be advanced by liberating entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework

characterized by strong property rights, free markets, and free trade” (Harvey, 2008). In such a framework state involvement is to be minimal and its existence is to guarantee prices and settle disputes. Friedrich Hayek is the father of neoliberalism and founded the Chicago school of economics but he was largely a fringe economist until the 1970s due to his opposition of Keynes’ economic theories (Spring, 2008). Neoliberalism gained academic acceptance at this time since Hayek won the Nobel Prize in economics in 1974 and another ‘Chicago School’ economist, Milton Friedman, won in 1976 - the same time that Keynesian policies were no longer working (Harvey, 2008). As a national strategy, neoliberalism aims to keep inflation low, balance the budget, have export-oriented production, keep the currency stable, and promote private industry (Hanson & Hentz, 1999; Rose, 2003; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). For education at the national level, neoliberal policies would turn schools over to the market where government would only be involved in setting standards and regulation (Spring, 2008).

While neoliberal policies may be more evident in higher education systems (Torres & Schugurensky, 2002), at a global level they have hindered expansion of primary education. Global education efforts were effectively put on the back burner in a period marked by the erosion of the redistributive forms of education multilateralism that had been the ideal following WWII (Mundy, 1998). The central actors in this change were the USA and the UK who had both elected the strongest proponents of neoliberal policies starting at the end of the 1970s, Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher respectively. Under Reagan and Thatcher, the US and the UK pulled out of UNESCO, development assistance was starkly reduced, and economic decision making was moved to non-multilateral international organizations like the G7, OECD, and the

International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Mundy, 1998). These groups, along with the World Bank, proceeded to spread neoliberal policies globally (Hanson & Hentz, 1999; Harvey, 2008; Lauder et al., 2006; Lauder, Brown, Dillabough, & Halsey, 2006; Mundy, 1998; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Scherrer, 2005; Spring, 2008).

The strategy of neoliberal policies that were put to use internationally was called the Washington Consensus (Becker, 2002; Pereira, 1995; Rose, 2003). For developing countries, the Washington Consensus meant that they were to focus on drastic cutbacks in social spending and deregulation to engage their industry in a global market (Rose, 2003; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). To realize these changes, international agencies like the IMF and the World Bank, and member countries of the OECD used Structural Adjustment Plans (SAPs) to place conditions on aid that is granted to developing countries (Harvey, 2008; Mundy, 1998; Spring, 2008). These conditions were neoliberal based policies. This was at a time when developing countries were in dire need of supplementary funding due to high levels of debt and low commodity prices - commodities being a main source of income in much of the developing world (Mundy, 1998). The rise in debt in the developing world was not due to their own extravagance; rather it was because the USA changed from the gold standard of currency and had high interest rates. As most developing world debt was held in US dollars, these changes in the USA caused developing world debt to skyrocket (Harvey, 2008). Thereafter, the USA did not want their own banks to absorb the losses if these loans were defaulted; therefore, the IMF and World Bank were employed to restructure the loans (Berthelot & Clandfield, 2008; Harvey, 2008; Pereira, 1995). In exchange for restructuring, the IMF and the World Bank used SAPs to force countries to cut welfare

expenditures, implement more flexible labour laws, and privatize public industries - key policies of neoliberalism (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001; Harvey, 2008; Scherrer, 2005).

For education, global neoliberalism led to a rise of defensive and disciplinary forms of education policies (Mundy, 1998). Neoliberal policies were defensive in that they supported the powers of the new global economy by implementing business friendly educational programs like vocational training (Watson, 1994). They were disciplinary in that they used the conditions contained in SAPs that forced reductions in public spending on education (Benavot et al., 2006; Kendall, 2007; Lauder et al., 2006; Tarabini, 2010).

UNESCO was one of the first victims of neoliberal policies in education. With US and UK withdrawal, the already small budget at UNESCO was reduced by one quarter (Mundy, 1998). Next, it found its responsibilities being taken over by other agencies. Originally set up to conduct global research on education and to disseminate this information, the OECD became the central forum for education policy coordination among advanced countries (Lauder et al., 2006; Mundy, 1998). OECD became involved in education research and set global standards through its PISA examinations (Lauder et al., 2006; Spring, 2008). The World Bank, with reductions to the UNESCO budget and increases to its own, become the largest single financier of education development (Mundy, 1998).

The reasoning behind the World Bank's ventures into education have always been economic in nature (Rose, 2003). When it first ventured into education financing, education was funded with the reasoning that it provides the greatest economic returns.

Under neoliberal economics a new phrasing was used - human capital theory. Developing human capital, or investing in people acquiring skills and knowledge, became the rationale for the World Bank to become the largest financier of education (Rose, 2003). The human capital rationale maintained primary education as having the largest returns to investment (Becker, 2002; Rose, 2003).

Nevertheless, efforts to expand access to primary education suffered despite the World Bank's goal. First, how the World Bank implemented this rationale conflicts with UNESCO's efforts in UPE in that it uses neoliberal policies and thus promotes more efficient use of inputs, privatization of schools, and parent and community fees (Mundy, 1998; Rose, 2003). It does not support free and compulsory education. With World Bank educational lending doubling in the 1980s, overall education spending declined. The human capital basis of supporting education conflicted with the neoliberal focus of reducing overall government spending which resulted in lower education budgets (Rose, 2003). In Malawi, SAPs prioritized education but forced the government to reduce educational expenditures from 14% of the budget to 9% (Rose, 2003). The World Bank even failed to raise the share of lending that went to primary education (Rose, 2003) with 45% of its funding to education continuing to go to technical and vocational education and training in the 1980s (Watson, 1994).

Neoliberalism has failed as a global economic policy. With neoliberal policies in the 1980s and 1990s, global economic growth never surpassed 1.4%; growth in the 1960s was 3.5% and 2.4% in the 1970s (Harvey, 2008). In Africa there have been no economic advances from neoliberal policies leading to stagnation and the same policies

have led to financial collapses in Latin America (Harvey, 2008). The Asian Tigers (Asian countries that have had a large amount of economic growth) that neoliberals use to support their theories are contradictory examples. Neoliberalism calls for minimal state involvement while many of these countries, like China, are centrally planned economies (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002; Pereira, 1995).

The results of neoliberal theories in education are catastrophic (Berthelot & Clandfield, 2008). SAPs, stagnant aid funding from OECD countries in the 1980s, and a retraction of the donor community from redistributive forms of educational development resulted in less public spending in the areas of health and education (Benavot et al., 2006; Buchmann & Hannum, 2001; Kendall, 2007; Mundy, 1998; Tarabini, 2010). The poverty alleviation that was to be a result of neoliberal policies never materialized, rather there were negative effects on the poorest populations (Mundy, 1998). The technical and vocational education programs backed by the World Bank were also a failure; while being more expensive than general education programs, students in Kenya, Columbia, and Tanzania neither earned more nor found better jobs because of the programs and they took resources away from much needed primary education programs (Watson, 1994). In Kenya, the SAP used to fight the recession in the 1980s resulted in primary education enrollment dropping from 91% in 1980 to 65% in 1997 (E. M. Omwami & Omwami, 2010).

Thus the 1980s saw a great shift in efforts to achieve UPE. Neoliberal policies gained prominence in organizations like the OECD, the IMF, and the World Bank. Implementing the neoliberal Washington Consensus led to developing countries

reducing their education budgets and thus reducing their ability to expand primary school coverage. Furthermore, support was retracted from UNESCO leaving the World Bank with a concentration of decision making on the global education and development agenda (Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). The end of the 1980s witnessed the death of the equality ideal in education with the World Bank and the countries of the OECD dominating global education policy making. Some deem these actions to be extensions of the colonial era with powerful nations maintaining their dominance over developing countries using initiatives like UPE. Called neocolonialism, this phenomena is described in Chapter 4.

UPE into the New Millennium

1989 provided two events that impacted global efforts to expand education. The first, the United Nation's Convention on the Rights of the Child, was directly related to UPE but had, arguably, negligible results. The second, the falling of the Berlin Wall, had much greater effects on the international development community and thus had a larger impact on UPE efforts. These two events led us into the 21st century and renewed efforts in international development and for UPE.

While the Convention on the Rights of the Child only reaffirmed the right of all children to education, it did lead to the World Conference on Education for All in 1990. The Education for All (EFA) initiative was led by UNESCO and supported by the World Bank and UNICEF with the goal of achieving UPE by 2000 and promoting adult literacy, increasing secondary school opportunities, and furthering vocational and non-formal education (Tarabini, 2010). However, these efforts were undermined by the

consequences of the unravelling of the Soviet Union. As noted earlier, much foreign aid was directed by donor countries' geopolitical interests. During the Cold War this meant directing resources to ensure that countries did not support the Soviet Bloc. Without this motivation for aid, and after a decade of stagnating aid in the 1980s, OECD countries reduced aid budgets in the 1990s (Mundy, 1998). The aggregate result being that by the end of 1990s, the number of out-of-school children had increased (Willmore, 2004).

There was a change following the neoliberal policies of the 1980s - the World Bank began actively supporting primary education. In the end, this eroded even more of the limited redistributive forms of global education that remained and consolidated the World Bank as the central actor in education development. There are two reasons that the World Bank became more active in primary education. The first is that it had lost a lot of legitimacy with the failed policies of the 1980s and acting according to its own rhetoric gave them more credibility (Mundy, 1998; Pereira, 1995; Tarabini, 2010)}. The second is that private entities were looking to finance education in the developing world, hence expanding the World Bank's service in primary education maintained its influence in the education sector (Mundy, 1998). Nevertheless, a focus on primary education from a human capital perspective led to conflicts with UNESCO and UNICEF within the EFA initiative. The UN agencies had maintained some of their redistributive education ideal and felt that EFA should encompass more than just primary education. For example, EFA has always included goals related to secondary education, adult education, and literacy. The domination of the World Bank was evident with a narrow focus on primary education with a human capital rationale as seen in the 2000 EFA

conference and in the Millennium Development Goals approved by the United Nations the same year (Tarabini, 2010).

The last decade has brought forth a renewed effort in international development. While it can be argued that these efforts still contain neoliberal policies, there are greater ambitions for success. The central international initiative is the aforementioned Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) - a series of targets with deadlines to relieve poverty economically and in the areas of health and education. In education, the goal is to provide UPE by the year 2015. In terms of support, donor countries are to increase their foreign aid in order to achieve the goals. Two further initiatives affect the MDGs and the attempts for UPE. The Paris Declaration and the Accra Accord for Action both give guidelines for effective measures for official development assistance. While these guidelines are yet to be implemented by many countries, ODA has increased since 2000 and there has been some progress towards UPE. This progress is in question with the recent development of China becoming the largest lender to Africa (Le Monde, 2011) and with governments reducing foreign aid because of the financial crisis - as the Obama administration has proposed for 2011 (Krugman, 2011).

Current Status of UPE

Providing an accurate estimate of the number of children enrolled in schools globally is a daunting task. The scope and the funds necessary for such a study prevents all but the largest international institutions from accomplishing the feat. The realities of such a study, with many children located in remote rural areas and in conflict affected regions, prevents a truly accurate estimate; however, the estimates over time

produce important trends. Unless otherwise annotated, the estimates given below are taken from UNESCO's "Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2010: Reaching the Marginalized" (2010). Estimates are presented first and there is a description of trends to follow. Some of the difficulties with these measurements are presented at the end of the section.

The number of children out of school varies greatly by region. Sub-Saharan Africa has seen a large jump in primary school enrollment. In 1999, 56% of children were enrolled in school with a total number of 82 million. In 2007, 124 million children were enrolled in school representing 73% of children at the appropriate age showing a rise of 17% in under 10 years. Arab states saw an increase of six million students in primary school going from 78% to 84%. Central Asia enrolled one million more students going from 88% to 92% and getting close to UPE. East Asia and the Pacific regions had a reduction of students enrolled in school: 191 million children in 2007 compared to 218 million in 1999. These regions arrived just out of a UPE designation going from 96% to 94% enrollment. South and West Asia has had a large increase in enrollment going from 155 million to 192 million. This increased the percentage of children enrolled from 78% to 86%. Latin America stayed steady over this period maintaining a ratio close to UPE with just over 90% of children enrolled. Sub-Saharan Africa has the lowest number of children enrolled in primary school with 73%. South and West Asia and Arab states are also a concern with 86% and 84% enrollment respectively. Meanwhile, Central Asia, Latin America, and East Asia and the Pacific are all close to providing UPE. Therefore, with seven out of ten out-of-school students coming from sub-Saharan

Africa, and South and West Asia, these are the key regions to focus upon in order to reach UPE by 2015.

P. Glewwe (2005) breaks down developing countries by income, and low income countries (LICs) around the world are furthest from achieving UPE. Of 66 LICs only three had UPE in 2005. Furthermore, only ten countries are on track to reach UPE by 2015, thus 53 countries will be short of the target. Of 85 middle income countries (MICs) 33 have already met UPE standards. With 20 MICs on-track to meet UPE by 2015, there will still be 32 countries not reaching the goal (Glewwe & Zhao, 2005).

These numbers are far from telling the whole story as there can be large intra-regional differences and the use of one indicator masks many different issues regarding UPE. For example, a large increase of enrollment in India accounts for much of the increase in the South and West Asia region and the world as a whole. On the other side of the spectrum, with a large population and little to no progress since 1999, Nigeria has almost 10% of the total out-of-school population. In sub-Saharan Africa, there are other intra-regional differences. Liberia has only 31% enrollment while Madagascar has 98%. Furthermore, Benin has gone from the lowest enrollment ration in 1999 to being projected to reach UPE by 2015. In South and West Asia, Djibouti has 45% enrollment, Yemen 75%, and Bahrain 95%.

As a result large increases in highly populated countries like India, indirectly hide countries that are not expanding access to education. There are 25 developing countries that have stagnating or declining enrollment since 1999. In addition to these, there are several countries without data for these years: Afghanistan, Democratic

Republic of the Congo, Haiti, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and Sudan. Other areas with numbers of great concern include Liberia, Eritrea, and the Palestinian Autonomous Authorities. The estimates allow countries to be grouped according to income level but these groupings can be misleading. For example, Bangladesh and Ethiopia outperform Nigeria and Pakistan despite being significantly less wealthy. The Philippines, Turkey, and South Africa are also countries that should have higher enrollment ratios according to their national wealth.

Overall, out-of-school children are found in a few different categories. Sub-Saharan Africa is the region with the majority of the world's out-of-school children despite having only 19% of the world's total primary school population (English, Ruano, Schmidt, Srikantaiah, & Thiam, 2010). Only 15 of 45 African countries were expected to meet UPE by 2015 (De Grauwe, 2009). This proportion in Africa is reiterated in two other statistics: the majority of out-of-school students being in low income countries and half of these students being in conflict affected states. Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for the majority of both of these categories. Regarding the individual students worldwide that do not have access to school, four out of five of them live in rural areas and the majority of them are poverty stricken (De Grauwe, 2009).

The ratios discussed in this section are a product of countries net enrollment ratios. When using only one indicator other problems can be overlooked and has led to a secondary condition for UPE: to retain and advance students (English et al., 2010). Some of these problems include the likelihood of out-of-school students to enter school, attendance issues, drop out rates, and the ratio of students of an inappropriate age in a

classroom. First of all, 44% of all out-of-school children are unlikely to enter school. If this trend continues, then UPE will be impossible until these children pass the age of primary school (and later add themselves to the illiterate adult population where there is less emphasis). The other side of this statistic means that 56% of out-of-school children would enter school late, thus being in school at an inappropriate age for their level. Dropouts skew the results with large numbers of the out-of-school population consisting of students that start but do not finish school. For example, in sub-Saharan Africa, about 40% of children do not finish primary school (English et al., 2010; Moon, 2004). De Grauwe (2002) showed this discrepancy more clearly in Benin where there was a 89% gross enrollment ratio in primary school but only six of ten children completed six years.

Different regions experience these problems to different degrees. Out-of-school sub-Saharan African children “are the least likely to enter school” (UNESCO, 2010) with 59% unlikely to enroll. In South and West Asia dropouts are more of a problem making up 60% of out-of-school children. In East Asia the problem is students entering school at an older age. Some consider dropout and non-completion of primary school to be more significant indicators of UPE than net enrollment ratios in most developing countries (English et al., 2010).

What’s more, the accuracy of the indicators is not certain. Most of the statistics are taken from national agencies that rely on schools to provide them with accurate data. As some of these schools are funded depending upon the number of students that are enrolled, they have incentive to elevate the numbers (Bloom, 2007). Late entry

and dropouts may also cause the number to be higher. Household surveys in different parts of the world have indicated, there may be a 10% or greater overestimation of students enrolled in school (UNESCO, 2010).

Despite growing enrollment trends, primary school completion continues to be a challenge to UPE. In developing countries world-wide, only 73% of students finish primary school (Jenkner & Hillman, 2005). In half of sub-Saharan African countries, less than two thirds of students finish primary school (Birdsall, Levine, & Ibrahim, 2005; Willmore, 2004). Of the countries that the World Bank is monitoring with their Fast Track Initiative, 21 of the 35 will not reach universal primary completion by 2015 (World Bank, 2008). As seen with net enrollment ratios, completion rates are lower in rural areas and for girls. In Mozambique the urban completion rate was over twice as high as the rural at 26% compared to just 12% (Birdsall et al., 2005). Completion rates are especially appalling for girls in rural areas with six countries in sub-Saharan Africa where there is a completion rate under 15% (Birdsall et al., 2005). There is nevertheless progress in the primary completion rate (UNESCO, 2010). While many countries will not reach universal primary completion, all but 8 countries are at 80% which is an increase of 22% (World Bank, 2008).

Gender inequity continues to be a challenge to UPE. Girls constitute a higher percentage of the children without access to schooling. Again, progress has been made with the gender gap improving from 58% girls out of school in 1999 to 54% in 2007 (UNESCO, 2010). This progress is not entirely positive as some of the gender parity has come from declining boys' enrollment in some countries. Most of the gender

disparity occurs in sub-Saharan Africa and in Arab states. There are 28 countries with fewer than 0.9 girl to boy ratio in schools: 18 of these countries are in sub-Saharan Africa. Arab states also have a large difference but Afghanistan is one of the worst examples with a 0.63 girl to boy ratio. In general, the lower the enrollment, the greater the gender disparity. Unfortunately, gender parity faces a greater challenge as girls are also more likely than boys not to enter school once missing the proper entry age (UNESCO, 2010).

There are a few other areas that exacerbate the difficulties to meet UPE. Early childcare has important positive outcomes but has often been neglected by governments. Adult literacy is also being neglected in favour of other educational sectors, yet one in five adults are illiterate, about 794 million (Limage, 2007). Again, women are more affected representing 64% of illiterate adults (Burnett, 2008). Sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia lead the literacy problem with less than 70% of adults being literate (Burnett, 2008). Out-of-school adolescents are also a concern for many countries. A further 72 million adolescents were not in school in 2007; 70% of whom are from South and West Asia and sub-Saharan Africa (UNESCO, 2010).

Perhaps the largest barrier to reaching UPE is the more current focus on the quality of the education received in primary school, as will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4. Quality education is measured by the skills achieved in school, and math and literacy abilities are used as the areas of reference. There has been a lack of correlation between completion of primary school and learning achievement with many students lacking minimum numeracy and literacy levels at the end of primary school in

developing countries (Moon, 2004). Many sub-Saharan African countries are seeing poor results. Uganda has the majority of their grade 6 students fail the minimal standards in math, while only 1/4 of students reach reading literacy in Botswana, Kenya, South Africa, and Swaziland (English et al., 2010). Additionally, the results in developing countries are far behind developed countries on international assessments (Birdsall et al., 2005). Without producing basic skills, investment into education is at the very least inefficient and can be pointless (English et al., 2010).

Regardless of the difficulties in measuring the number of children enrolled in school and all of the disparities between countries, regions, gender, and wealth, the numbers indicate a few trends. First is that enrollment has been increasing. However, a few countries are dominating these numbers and sub-Saharan Africa is the furthest from achieving UPE. Second, a few key populations continue to be missed by education expansion efforts. Sub-Saharan Africa is the region of focus with the largest portion of out-of-school children. This number also incorporates the majority of children in countries involved in conflict or in post-conflict countries, some of the largest gender gaps, children in rural areas, and poverty stricken families (UNESCO, 2010).

In conclusion, the increases to education and the progress made since 1999 is reassuring in that outcomes are positive, especially after witnessing a decade of regression in the 1990s (Omwami 2E & Keller, 2010; UNESCO, 2010). Still, at the current rate of progress UPE will be impossible to reach throughout the developing world and up to 70 countries will miss the 2015 target (Jones, 2008). Furthermore, these projections for 2015 may be optimistic given the fallout from the global economic

crisis. Since 2007 there has been more poverty, higher unemployment, tighter public budgets, and lower remittances to developing countries. These conditions may lead to less money being spent on global education and lower enrollment (UNESCO, 2010).

Conclusion

There are currently approximately 72 million children without access to primary schools. This education was enshrined in the UN's declaration of Universal Human Rights in 1948 because of education's close ties to equality, democracy, and economic development. However, the promotion of UPE since that time has largely focused on economic and political interests and largely ignored the redistributive and democratic ideals upon which it was founded.

UNESCO was founded to promote these ideals but has since been plagued by underfunding and political interference in its mandate. The World Bank became the world leader in lending for education by 1980 but has maintain a human capital rationale to education that continues to the present day (Rose, 2003). Human capital theory and neoliberal policies has led to regressions in the efforts to achieve UPE with less children having access to education in the last two decades of the 20th century.

The 21st century has witnessed initiatives that aim to put an end to the unequal relationship between Northern and Southern nations. The Millennium Development Goals give a detailed plan on poverty reduction and UPE while the Paris Declaration and Accra Accord for Action aim to fix the ineffective methods of giving aid in the past. Despite failures to reach the MDGs and follow the aid effectiveness guidelines, there are enough countries supporting these initiatives to encourage hope.

Chapter 3: Methodology

“A research project without a credible methodology is a wobbly building that will collapse sooner or later” (Mansourian, 2006). This paper will be based upon Critical Theory and use Grounded Theory as its methodology. Critical Theory in education is based on principles of social justice (Tripp, 1992). It is also designed to emancipate oppressed populations (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; McNabb, 2009). For the purposes of this paper, the oppressed peoples are those left without access to primary education. This study aims to empower them through strengthening their reasoning when arguing for greater support in expanding access to education and through changing the beliefs of policy makers in the area of UPE by informing them of the basis of their former actions. Grounded Theory is the method used to analyze previous and continuing efforts to achieve UPE and describe the failures of these efforts. Grounded Theory differs from standard scientific methods in that its hypotheses are developed in the process of research rather than research being used to verify the hypothesis/hypotheses (Selden, 2005). This study uses Grounded Theory to find common the deficiencies in the international attempts to provide UPE. Major publications, mostly from UNESCO but also from the United Nations and the World Bank, were used as primary sources, and are predominant in the area of global education statistics. Academic journals specializing in international development and education for development were then used to verify the information of the multilateral organizations.

Critical Theory and Grounded Theory

Critical Theory comes from the Frankfurt School and reflects the work of Kant, Marx, Hagel, Nietzsche, Freud, Lukacs, and Weber (Roach, 2008) but was made popular with the work of Habermas (Roach, 2008; Trip, 1992). In educational research, Critical Theory has been used by Paulo Freire with his work in Critical Pedagogy (Trip, 1992). Critical theory research is designed to have the participants themselves as the audience (Trip, 1992). Freire's audience is oppressed populations that he hopes to empower through education. This study attempts to have the same ambitions. However, because the majority of those left without access to education are in remote rural areas, the more likely audience is decision makers in the global education sector. I hope to facilitate change through these individuals gaining greater insight into the existing state of affairs in global education.

While Critical Theory constitutes the perspective of the paper, Grounded Theory provides the methodological framework. Grounded Theory dates from 1967. Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss first developed it to be used in studies in nursing but Grounded Theory has since been used in other social sciences including education (Mansourian, 2006). Grounded Theory has its roots in Symbolic Interactionism and is a general, inductive, and interpretive research method. Mansourian gives this definition: "Grounded Theory is based on systematic generating of theory from data that itself is systematically obtained from social research" (2006). Stated more simply, it is the development of theory from evidence. As stated earlier, there is no test of a preconceived hypothesis, rather the hypotheses develop from the systematic analysis of

data. While this methodology was first used in nursing research, it is not discipline specific and has been used in other social sciences such as education (Mansourian, 2006).

There are several advantages to Grounded Theory. It has a large degree of flexibility as ideas and theory change according to the data found (Mansourian, 2006). Also, these data can come from various sources. While it is a qualitative method, it is not exclusive to qualitative data; both qualitative and quantitative data can be used (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Mansourian, 2006). As a qualitative method, Grounded Theory is designed to explain as well as describe phenomena and is thus well situated to clarify real world complexities (Facci, 2009).

While a detailed framework for this study is provided in the next section, a general description of the procedures for Grounded Theory is provided here. The fundamental steps are: the collection and analysis of data, the generation of categories, the sorting of said categories, and the writing of the theory (Facci, 2009; Mansourian, 2006). These steps are not chronological as the researcher often has to go back and forth in between steps. The principal activity during the collection and analysis of the data is Open Coding. The data are broken down analytically and then compared for similarities and differences. This is how and when the categories are developed. When sorting categories Axial Coding is used. Axial Coding relates categories to sub-categories and relationships are tested against the data. At this stage categories are refined and Memo Writing begins. Memo Writing is the first stage of generating the theory (recommendations in the case of this study); as categories are compared, the

researcher records his/her ideas regarding the conceptual relationships between the categories. These memos are to guide the writing of the theory. Writing the theory then requires selective coding where the researcher's memos guide the process and the relationships between the categories are confirmed or discarded (Corbin & Strauss, 1990). The theory comes from a search for a 'core' category that describes the similarities between the other categories (Selden, 2005).

This study uses the existing research on UPE as data, then codes the data to produce common themes or categories.

Research Framework

The "procedures of Grounded Theory are designed to develop a well integrated set of concepts that provide a thorough theoretical explanation of social phenomena under study" (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p.5). From the beginnings of Grounded Theory in 1967, it was a user-friendly research method as Glaser and Strauss provided a detailed procedure for the researcher. Strauss and Corbin (1990) and Mansourian (2006) describe different models for engaging in Grounded Theory. However, Mansourian's model is described as more universal and thus will be used for this paper. The four main procedures are described as following:

1. Coding the data

Coding is done throughout the research as Grounded Theory is a constant comparative approach. The initial stage uses Open Coding in order to identify categories and sub-categories. Axial Coding is done to compare categories and sub-

categories and then Selective Coding compares categories to the core category. The purpose of coding is to have well defined and supported categories that can stand up to scrutiny.

The literature review has provided the study's first attempts at coding. However, much of the data have been gathered in the process of creating the literature review. The data have been gathered and grouped together as similarities emerged. Eventually, categories were found in the documentation that separated the data into the different chapters. Axial Coding provides much of the analysis of Chapter 4 while Chapter 5 uses Axial and Selective Coding.

2. Memo writing

Memo Writing is the process of recording ideas as they emerge during the coding processes. It is the process of tying data together and during this time the theory grows in complexity, density, clarity, and accuracy. This is a reflective process that evolves throughout the paper.

Memo Writing has provided a potential structure for the paper. As much of the data has been gathered, memos have been written when themes became evident. These themes have come together as tentative titles or categories. However, these memos will only become final categories when there is enough evidence to support them.

3. Sorting

Sorting is the step between memo and theory writing and does not involve working with the raw data. The memos are the building blocks and are sorted conceptually. In this stage the categories (the basis of the memos) are compared by their properties and dimensions, looking for common threads.

Sorting took place in the writing of the last two chapters. In this study, sorting entailed using the challenges presented in Chapter 4 as a basis for the recommendations in Chapter 5.

4. Writing the theory

Writing the theory is the formation of the ideas from the theoretical sorting. The goal is to summarize and restructure the findings into a coherent body. Chapter 5 contains the analysis and the recommendations based on said analysis.

Limitations

There are several limitations for this study. The first limitation is the inherent deficiencies of Grounded Theory; however, the major limitations are the availability and accuracy of the data. The other limitations are related to the decisions made for the research topics - the geography and level of schooling.

First, Grounded Theory can be difficult to carry out in a satisfactory way. The principal difficulty is researcher bias or pre-understandings of the researcher (Mansourian, 2006; Selden, 2005). This difficulty may be compounded with the researcher using a critical perspective. The qualifying description of Grounded Theory

is that hypotheses or theory are generated from the data. If a researcher has a previous bias or understanding, it is the researcher that is the generator and not the data, thereby damaging the reliability of the study. The other challenge is with coding. A researcher must remain diligent as coding is central to providing evidence for the theory. Poor coding weakens the validity of the study.

For this study, the researcher bias should be natural. Selden explains that if concepts were to come from the researcher and not the data, inexperienced researchers would be the most effective investigators (2004). As I was inexperienced on the topic, there was not a prescribed theory and, therefore, new theories could emerge using Grounded Theory. However, the critical perspective of Critical Theory requires a researcher bias. For Critical Theory to be the orientation of a thesis, the researcher must not be a 'disinterested scientist' but a change-oriented researcher (McNabb, 2009) or a 'transformative intellectual' (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). The bias brought in to the study is my previous research in the area of international development¹ where I found that the majority of foreign aid since World War II has been in the interest of the donor country or agency and not in the interest of the developing country. My bias is that international agents have failed in their attempts to provide UPE and I expect to find the same self-interest involved in these attempts. Grounded Theory is still applicable in that I am not using this bias as a hypothesis. UPE has not been reached and this study uses Grounded Theory to discover and analyze the reasons it has not been realized.

¹ Richards, Patrick. *Europe and Development Aid in the 21st Century*. 2010. unpublished

Second, there is a limitation to the data used to measure UPE. There is a narrow focus on indicators for UPE and education statistics are underdeveloped on the whole (Bloom, 2007). The main indicator is the net enrollment ratio which is the proportion of children in the primary school age group enrolled in school. This indicator is insufficient because it does not indicate where the students are in the cycle. Late entry, returning, and repeating students fill in the gaps that would be evident where students at the normal age for the grade are missing from school. Additionally, students older than primary age are missing from the instrument. The other main instrument is the primary completion rate which measures the proportion of students in the final year of primary from the number of children of the appropriate age. Nonetheless, this measure is compromised by students in this grade that are not of the appropriate age - returning, late entry, or repeating students. The ideal would be an instrument that tracks students as they progress through primary school but few developing countries have the resources for such an instrument. Thus, while no indicator provides a complete picture, these indicators can provide an average picture of progress over time (UNESCO, 2010).

On top of the limited measures of UPE, the numbers gathered have questionable accuracy as there are inconsistencies between sources. UNESCO statistics rely on national estimates and there is no international agency that collects its own data (Bloom, 2007). Therefore, this data can be of poor quality when school funding is based on enrollment. Household surveys also measure the number of out-of-school children and show estimates up to 30% higher than the given ones (UNESCO, 2010).

Moreover, there are few available statistics in the international education sector (Bloom, 2007). Inputs of time and money, and enrollment are the main items measured. There are few measures of quality, results, and long term effects. With regards to quality, there are little data to be found outside of the developed world that measures teacher qualifications. Results are also important when measuring quality and they are lacking. In addition, outcomes - like the effects of education on life rates, health, and growth rates, are quite rare (Bloom, 2007). On top of the above shortcomings regarding educational data, only formal education has been measured. There is no information regarding non-formal and local forms of education (Hoppers, 2009).

The decision to focus on Primary Education is also a limitation. Other levels of education are important and have an effect on achieving UPE. Expanding secondary and early childhood schooling not only have positive development consequences in themselves but help achieve UPE as well (Jones, 2008). In spite of that, there are few international pushes for other levels of education and even less available data on these levels, a study would be difficult to complete. What's more, primary education has been rated as the most important to development by both right- and left-leaning institutions, albeit for different reasons. I believe that primary education is important for reasons beyond the common economic measure of development. The lack of access to education is a factor that keeps the most disadvantaged peoples marginalized. Education is the weapon they can use to be more easily heard and to break down other barriers in their quest for liberty.

With this belief in the ability of education to transform society (Bertrand, 2003; McLaren, 1993), Paulo Freire became a central figure to this study. Not only is he one of the fathers of Critical Research in education (Tripp, 1992), which is the underlying philosophy guiding this thesis, but his philosophy (later termed the Freirean Perspective) provides the perfect foundation for UPE efforts to achieve social transformation. Freire experienced elite domination of education (and society) as a teacher to poor peasant farmers in Brazil. He used this experience to develop his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* which seeks to empower oppressed communities through what later became Critical Pedagogy (McLaren, 1999). Roughly described, Critical Pedagogy empowers oppressed peoples through critical literacy or the development of language that critiques and labels the dominant powers and their instruments of power (Bertrand, 2003). Through community-developed education and literacy programs, the people are empowered and start an evolution towards liberty and democracy (Freire, 1970; McLaren, 1993). I believe this view of development should be the foundation of all UPE efforts and is further described in **Chapter 5**.

Chapter 4: Data

Education has many benefits for both the society and the individual and is an important determinant of the quality of life (Okpala & Okpala, 2006). Educated peoples are healthier and command higher incomes. Educated societies experience a 3.7% increase in long-term economic growth for every year the average level of education increases amongst the adult population (UNESCO, 2002). Besides, education can be linked to decreased inequality, greater democracy, and less chance of violent conflict (Østby, Nordås, & Rød, 2009).

Like the above introductory paragraph, UPE has been promoted using economic reasoning with social benefits coming as an endnote. The result of 60 plus years of efforts based on this reasoning is 72 million children left without access to primary school (UNESCO, 2010). This is not a large percentage of the total global population of children this age; however, the vast majority of these children are in developing countries. Most of these children are poor, live in rural areas, and 47% of the total population of out-of-school children are located in sub-Saharan Africa (UNESCO, 2010). Low levels of achievement, drop-outs, and late entry students exacerbate the problem. At the current rate of expansion, sub-Saharan Africa will need 100 years to achieve UPE and Arab states will need 50 years (English et al., 2010).

The current challenges coming from the global financial crisis are the most recent of 60 plus years of failing to provide UPE. The central question to global education is: how to improve access while improving quality and maintaining financial stability? (Dembélé & Lefoka, 2007). This question synthesizes the major challenges facing

UPE. Expanding access requires more resources, funding, and suppression of detrimental social factors. Improving quality is important in that it would reduce dropout, late entry, repetition rates, and increase school efficiency but it would also require greater resources. Unfortunately, resources and funding are limited; improving quality takes money away that can be used to expand access and vice versa. Increasing resources and funding affects financial stability in countries where stability is tenuous. With the international donor community not meeting its commitment of \$50 billion USD for education, developing countries are trying to meet UPE with their already limited budgets (UNESCO, 2010). This gap is indicative of one of the greater challenges to UPE: the divide between the philosophy of the international actors and the needs and realities of local communities.

The data describes the challenges that have prevented achieving UPE. These challenges are broken down into ***Financial Restraints, Poor Policy Making, Western Dominance, and Insufficient International Initiatives.***

Financial Restraints

First of all, UPE faces a lack of resources, hence there is a constant dilemma in how to distribute the limited available resources to best achieve UPE. Lack of resources can be for different reasons. The difference of wealth between developing and developed nations is a major reason. Globally, countries average 15% of total public spending for education (Fosu, 2007). While some developing countries like Nigeria, Somalia, and Sudan spend under 10%, others like Benin, Ghana, Kenya, and Swaziland exceed the global average by spending more than 20% on education (Fosu,

2007). Thus developing countries can match much of the world on a proportional basis. However, these figures are misleading because developing countries are far behind industrial countries on educational spending per capita. The international average is \$21 USD per student per annum (Fosu, 2007). Benin, Chad, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and Zaire spend less than \$5 USD (Fosu, 2007). Among developing countries, Mauritius, Ivory Coast, and Botswana spend much more per student all exceeding \$60 USD (Fosu, 2007). The challenge to providing UPE can be observed with the knowledge that the developed world spends on average \$600 USD per student per annum (Glewwe & Zhao, 2005).

On top of low overall spending on education, most developing countries have education budgets that do not target primary education. Most funding flows to tertiary or secondary education (possible reasons for this spending are discussed in the ***Western Dominance*** section). The countries that have education budgets with the largest proportion devoted to the tertiary level also have the lowest primary completion rate (Corrales, 2006). In this case, high income groups skew educational spending to the detriment of the lower classes (Corrales, 2006). Because the higher income groups constitute the majority of the students in secondary and tertiary education, little funding gets to the lower income groups. Foreign aid skews budgets towards higher level education to a greater extent. One third of bilateral aid to education goes to university scholarships in donor countries thereby supporting the donors' own systems (Burnett, 2008; Steer & Wathne, 2010). Moreover, foreign aid tends to favour capital projects - like building schools, over recurring school expenses - like teacher's salaries where a

shortage of teachers is a significant problem in the developing world (Jenkner & Hillman, 2005).

One of the promises that came from the Education for All conferences is that no country willing to provide UPE would be left with a shortage of funds. However, the international donor community has yet to meet their funding targets and overall funding is inadequate to provide the capacity for UPE (Omwami 2E & Keller, 2010). The gap to meet all EFA goals is estimated to be \$16 billion USD (Birdsall et al., 2005; Steer & Wathne, 2010; UNESCO, 2010). The proportion of this gap that would finance UPE is \$7 billion USD (UNESCO, 2010). While the world has seen an increase in foreign aid in the last decade, the proportion directed at expanding education has not increased and education has benefited less from this overall increase (Steer & Wathne, 2010). Sub-Saharan Africa is in most need of these missing funds as they are furthest from UPE. The region currently receives 33% of donor resources for primary education but 76% is needed (Birdsall et al., 2005). This is indicative of donor preference for alternative reasons rather than achieving the stated goal of UPE.

Despite the need for foreign assistance, donor agencies often require that recurrent educational costs, like teachers' salaries, should come from domestic financing (Birdsall et al., 2005). This means developing countries are expected to pay 60%-80% of the required increases to meet UPE (Birdsall et al., 2005). Some countries, like Ethiopia and Tanzania need to double or treble their domestic spending and have large external aid increases in order to achieve UPE (Birdsall et al., 2005). Kenya is a good example of funding difficulties. In 2003, Kenya had 75% net enrollment

despite previously instituting no-fee schooling (E. M. Omwami & Omwami, 2010). However, it had low budgeting for primary and pre-primary schooling with 15% of education spending designated for these levels (E. M. Omwami & Omwami, 2010). Overall, government revenue is too low to meet UPE as 8% annual growth in GDP is needed to fund UPE by 2015 (E. M. Omwami & Omwami, 2010). In addition, government revenue collection has not equaled growth, making it harder to finance the education sector (E. M. Omwami & Omwami, 2010).

In a recent UNESCO report, it is said that UPE can be met by donors meeting their commitments and by developing countries increasing their efficiency in education spending (UNESCO, 2010). However, this advice is easier said than done with the world still recovering from the financial crisis and with fiscal restraint being the current global hegemonic position (Ahmed & Sayed, 2009). In addition, these costs may be underestimated given the make-up of the children out of school. About half are in conflict affected states meaning they are very difficult (and likely more expensive) to reach. 80% are in rural areas (English et al., 2010). In developing countries this means that there may not be adequate infrastructure to reach them without much cost. On top of this, a large number of out-of-school children have some form of disability and thus need some sort of special provision (Birdsall et al., 2005)².

Ultimately, there is a tremendous lack of funding in the attempt to achieve UPE. Developing countries, where out-of-school children are most prevalent, spend a fraction

² Birdsall (2005) uses the estimate of 40 million. While this number is taken from 2005 when there were a greater number of out-of-school children, it is surprisingly large. The author may be using poverty in the description of a disability as 40 million mentally or physically disabled students is abnormally large. It would also be impossible to measure.

of the amount per student compared to the averages in OECD countries and educational funding tends to gravitate to higher levels of education. Moreover, the international development community is far from filling these gaps in funding since they are missing their commitment to education to the tune of \$7 billion USD. To me, the funding problems are indicative of the dominant Western discourse in global education. Developing countries are 'infanticized' - they are treated like children for not meeting the responsibility of providing education for their citizens (Sim, Van Loon, & Appignanesi, 2001). Yet, the Western countries never meet their promised funding and use money destined for developing countries to support their own education systems or for countries that have less need. As such their actions are contrary to their stated goal of providing UPE.

Poor Policy Making

There are several decisions to be made when attempting to provide universal education: which level provides the greatest outcomes: primary, secondary, or tertiary? Expansion should occur in which type of educational system: formal, non-formal, or vocational? Or should local and indigenous forms of education be promoted? Should budget increases focus on infrastructure, hiring more teachers, teacher training, or materials? These questions are made more difficult given the documented lack of funding and a lack of research in education in developing countries. This section is divided into the following sub-sections describing the problems above: *Expanding Access*, *Poor Quality Education*, *Not Enough Qualified Teachers*, and *A Black Box of Information*.

Expanding Access

Expanding access to education is not a case of 'if you build it, they will come'. Legislating free compulsory schooling, while important, is only one step towards UPE and when done without the proper supports it can lead to deficiencies in other areas. It also does not address the many reasons why students do not attend school. Some of these reasons include poverty, health issues, and inadequacy of the educational system. Furthermore, the type and level of schooling expansion has an effect on the other forms of schools.

With the emphasis put on primary education, many countries have implemented no-fee, compulsory primary schooling. However, this does not always result in 100% net enrollment (E. M. Omwami & Omwami, 2010). Poverty is the key social factor that prevents children from getting an education (UNESCO, 2010). Families in the lowest 20% income bracket have children that are three times less likely to go to school than children of families in the top 20% of incomes (UNESCO, 2010). As many developing countries have inadequate resources to fund their education systems, many have user fees. User payments are a regressive tax: it hurts the poor more than other groups (Jenkner & Hillman, 2005). User payments are not the only barrier for the poor; other related costs, such as school materials or uniforms, are also a problem for many families (Burnett, 2008). Much of the recent global increase in enrollment is from the

elimination of school fees; however, families in some regions are too poor to afford the other related costs like school materials and school lunches, let alone the losses in income that children in many developing countries provide (Burnett, 2008).

Uganda and Kenya are examples of this problem. Large initial increases in enrollment from implementing no-fee schools never did reach UPE and some of the advances receded over the following years (E. M. Omwami & Omwami, 2010). Free schooling without adequate resources or capacity leads to crowded classrooms, inflated teacher to student ratios, and limited supplies like textbooks. All these factors have a detrimental effect on the quality of education (E. M. Omwami & Omwami, 2010; Page, 2010) which is further discussed in the sub-section *Poor Educational Quality*.

Primary education expansion also has yet to address the 'lost students'. Net enrollment ratios measure the number of students of the appropriate age enrolled in school while gross enrollment ratios measure the total number of students enrolled in school. The difference between these ratios are students that either entered school late, returned to school after dropping out, or are repeating levels, thus making up the aforementioned 'lost students'. These students are lost because while these issues are mentioned as problems, there is a dearth of information on how to address their specific situations or where they belong in regards to UPE. In sub-Saharan Africa one third of students drop out; South Asia has one quarter drop out (English et al., 2010). In most developing countries drop-out and non-completion of primary education is a more significant problem than low enrollment ratios (English et al., 2010).

Regarding school levels, the key idea behind UNESCO's Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals' promotion of UPE is that primary school is essential to development (UNESCO, 2010). However, should primary education be expanded at the expense of secondary or tertiary opportunities? The argument given previously that some countries have tertiary and secondary at the expense of primary education does not mean that countries should expand UPE at the expense of secondary or tertiary. "An exclusive concentration on primary education is neither desirable nor feasible" (Bloom, 2007). The ideal is that primary education should be prioritized but not take away from secondary or tertiary resources (Ramcharan, 2002). This means that any expansion in a school system that has not reached UPE should prioritize primary education. Secondary education in particular has received little attention despite its relation to development; it will also be necessary as primary education is expanded but should be regarded as supplemental to expanding primary (Bloom, 2007). Additionally, there is research stating that primary education has already been promoted at the expense of early childhood care and adult literacy education (Burnett, 2008; Jones, 2008; Limage, 2007) thereby neglecting some of the other goals of the Education for All initiative.

Providing future opportunities for students is important for education system planners as it has consequences for UPE. Providing opportunities, like further schooling or employment, is an incentive for children and their families to keep them in school, thereby incurring higher enrollment and lower drop out rates (Figueredo & Anzalone, 2003). Many countries have few accessible secondary school opportunities for students. Expanding secondary education makes primary education more attractive

and reduces dropouts (Figueredo & Anzalone, 2003; Maurer, 2000). Employment opportunities or lack thereof, are just as important to UPE as they raise the demand for education. Lack of employment opportunities leads to over-qualification for jobs and brain drain (Figueredo & Anzalone, 2003; Tarabini, 2010). Over-qualification or qualification inflation is a serious issue for education planners as it can be a result of rapid expansion of education. Without economic expansion the economic benefit of education expansion is eroded (Rolleston & Oketch, 2008).

Choice of educational systems has been an area of contention as the choice often misses the wants and needs of the local populace. This phenomenon, a result of neocolonialism, is discussed in greater detail in the ***Western Domination of UPE*** section. Thus, in brief, school choice has been a continuation of colonial rule where a Western formal system of education is globally dominant (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001; Gueye & Some, 2008; Spring, 2008). Indigenous or local forms of education are not discussed in education expansion plans even though formal education may be irrelevant to students in remote areas and may have an inappropriate calendar given the climate or economic realities of the region (Figueredo & Anzalone, 2003; Watson, 1994).

Hence, expanding primary education has to walk a fine line when priorities are set. A destination has to be in place as many see primary education as pointless without opportunity. Local realities also have to be addressed as many children face extreme poverty and need more than a school in order to get an education. Besides, this access

must not be promoted at the expense of the quality of education that the children are to receive - as is discussed in the following section.

Poor Quality Education

Providing quality education is the greatest challenge for developing countries and is the global education challenge of the early 21st century (English et al., 2010). Speaking of quality differs from prior sections where net enrollment ratios and primary school completion were used in that the focus is on the competencies obtained in school, notably literacy and numeracy, and not the number of years of school completed. Benefits of education, such as individual earnings and economic growth, are in fact tied to the quality of education and not the number of years completed (Kendall, 2007; Page, 2010). Low quality education is already a problem for much of the developing world where levels of learning achievement are shockingly low (English et al., 2010; Rampal, 2000); this is particularly true in sub-Saharan Africa where many students that complete primary school are still illiterate and innumerate (Jenkner & Hillman, 2005; UNESCO, 2010). Outcomes are much worse for the poor thereby diminishing the equity benefits of education (English et al., 2010). Hence, “there is little basis for working towards universal primary schooling if students emerge from the schooling cycle without an adequate education” (Filmer, Hasan, Pritchett, & Floor, 2005).

Low quality education is characterized by low achievement, low enrollment, and high instances of repetition and drop-outs (De Grauwe, 2009; English et al., 2010). In fact, the low quality of education available to the poor and remote is often responsible

for their lower participation in schools (Mason, 2009). Poor quality education is a multi-pronged attack on UPE in that low achievement lowers the reasoning for and outcomes resulting from UPE, and low enrollment and drop-outs as a result of low quality hit the number of students in school directly. While net enrollment ratios have seen steady increases towards the target of 2015, good quality schooling by 2015 will be missed by a large margin (English et al., 2010). Improving quality makes school more attractive to families and thus increases enrollment (Mason, 2009).

As a result of low learning achievement, the education deficit between developing and developed countries is much greater than simple enrollment ratios can indicate (English et al., 2010) and there is a growing skills gap between Africa and the rest of the world (Page, 2010). Some countries have a 100 to 1 student to teacher ratio; a 16% repetition rate is also the average in some developing countries (De Grauwe, 2009). Basic math and reading competencies are strikingly low (Filmer et al., 2005). In a measure of 15 countries in southern, eastern, and central Africa it was found that two thirds of children that finished primary school did not meet the minimum reading level to qualify for secondary school (De Grauwe, 2009). The World Bank's Fast Track Initiative published some of the dismal figures in *Learning for All* (2009). In Malawi in 1999, 64% of children completed primary school but only 22% of these had acquired minimum literacy skills (English et al., 2010). In Uganda, 31% of grade 6 students met the minimum standards in math (English et al., 2010). Under 25% of students achieve reading literacy in Botswana, Kenya, South Africa, and Swaziland (English et al., 2010). This would be a favourable result in Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Uganda, and Zambia where less than 10% of students reach reading literacy (English et al.,

2010). The situation may prove even more dire as countries that do not participate in these assessments may have even lower outcomes (English et al., 2010).

As teachers are the strongest determinant of student achievement (German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2007; Moon, 2004), and teacher salaries are often the largest educational expense (Pole de Dakar, 2010), improving quality is a costly affair (Dembélé & Lefoka, 2007). Therefore, a major obstacle to improving quality is a lack of qualified teachers (Jones, 2008). One third of existing teachers are untrained (Moon, 2004) and there is an increasing trend in many developing countries to hire teachers with less education and training (Pole de Dakar, 2010). In addition, overcrowding, poor infrastructure, lack of instructional materials, low number of instructional hours, and high teacher per student ratios decrease the quality of education (De Grauwe, 2009; McGrath, 2010; E. M. Omwami & Omwami, 2010). Many schools in developing countries already have very overcrowded classrooms, hence even more teachers will be needed as UPE expands if quality were to be maintained. Furthermore, pedagogy is largely teacher-based in SSA (another cause of low achievement), whereas a learner-centred pedagogy is necessary (Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008; Dembélé & Lefoka, 2007); thus modern teacher training is another area of need.

Quality is also influenced by language and curriculum. Many developing countries are former colonies and maintain their colonial education systems. Therefore, a foreign language is the language in the school and many children start at a disadvantage by not having the language of instruction (Spring, 2008; Watson, 1994). In addition, the

curricula is often insensitive to the local community (De Grauwe, 2009). For example, former French colonies may still use curricula from France as they were an extension of the French system. To improve educational quality one needs a relevant curriculum taught in the local language, especially in early grades (Burnett, 2008; De Grauwe, 2009; Dembélé & Lefoka, 2007).

A rapid expansion of education has shown adverse effects on education quality. Without quality, the economic growth and health benefits from education have yet to materialize (Kendall, 2007). In some instances public schools are of such poor quality that children in the slums of Kenya and Uganda have chosen to pay for private schools (E. M. Omwami & Omwami, 2010). Hence, education planners not only have to get children into the classroom, but ensure that the students in the classroom receive a quality education as well. Again this is indicative of a poor international agenda. The rhetoric supporting primary education has been around for decades but with recent stronger promotion it has been done with too narrow a focus (Page, 2010). More children have been enrolled in primary education but without any regard to the supports necessary to ensure the education is of good quality or at all relevant to the lives of the children (Rampal, 2000).

Not Enough Qualified Teachers

As noted, teachers are instrumental in expanding primary education and in improving the quality of education (De Grauwe, 2009). Thus the teacher challenge requires particular attention. The number of teachers required to meet UPE and issues related to quality, such as qualifications and training, are presented in this section.

Education spending is not limited by systemic considerations; rather the daily expenses occupy the majority of the budget. The largest portion of educational spending is on teacher salaries with a global average of 70% (Pole de Dakar, 2010). Thus, a major decision when expanding education is the number of teachers required. 96 countries require more teachers in order to provide UPE and 27 of 45 sub-Saharan African countries have a significant teacher shortage (Bruneforth, Gagnon, & Wallet, 2009). To provide UPE by 2015 there is a need for an estimated 1.9 million teachers (Bruneforth et al., 2009; Pole de Dakar, 2010; UNESCO, 2010). Of these teachers, 1.2 million to 1.36 million are needed in sub-Saharan Africa (Bruneforth et al., 2009; UNESCO, 2010). This number of teachers represents an increase of 50% in SSA, thus teacher salaries, the most significant part of education budgets, would have to increase by 50% as well (Bruneforth et al., 2009).

To recruit this number of teachers would mean that these countries need to increase their teaching population by 3% - 18% each year up to 2015 in order to achieve UPE (Bruneforth et al., 2009). With teacher attrition included, these countries need to recruit between 8% and 23% more teachers each year (Bruneforth et al., 2009). Central African Republic has one of the largest gaps needing 18.5% more teachers a year followed by Eritrea at 15.9%, Chad at 13.8%, Niger at 12.5%, and Burkina Faso at 12% (Bruneforth et al., 2009). Tanzania has one of the largest gross gaps needing 238 000 teachers, while the Democratic Republic of the Congo needs 166 000 and Uganda needs 95 000 (Bruneforth et al., 2009). Of the 37 countries with a severe gap, 8 are expanding their teaching populations sufficiently to meet UPE (Bruneforth et al., 2009). Burkina Faso and Chad have been increasing their teacher numbers by 5%-12%

annually but will not meet UPE by 2015. Cote d'Ivoire, Eritrea, and Uganda have shown only one third of the increase necessary to reach UPE (Bruneforth et al., 2009).

The number of teachers needed can vary depending on the country. Repetition rates, population growth, teacher to student ratios, and teacher attrition all affect the number of teachers needed to meet UPE (Pole de Dakar, 2010). The estimates that include teacher attrition in the previous paragraph need greater attention. First, 5% is the given minimum attrition rate; yet many sub-Saharan African countries have less than 5% attrition - those without HIV/AIDS epidemics (Pole de Dakar, 2010). This would indicate a lack of other opportunities and perhaps teachers continuing into their senior years (Pole de Dakar, 2010; Teachers for EFA, 2010). Second, teacher attrition is not distributed equally. It happens more often in the least desired locations thereby affecting the poorest and most vulnerable to a greater degree (Teachers for EFA, 2010).

Population growth rates are not the largest determinant of teacher need but can be significant. Many countries have just 1% - 2% growth but with growth at 3% in some countries, this can put more pressure on teacher recruitment (Pole de Dakar, 2010). If a country is already short of teachers, high rates of population growth will exacerbate the problem.

Repetition rates affect the number of necessary teachers by increasing the number of students that stay in school. While these rates are very low in developed nations, they can be as high as 29%, as in Burundi (Pole de Dakar, 2010). Maintaining the recommended maximum repetition rate of 10% could lead to a reduction in the number of necessary teachers in some countries (Pole de Dakar, 2010). If Burundi were to

reduce their repetition rate to 10% this would represent a savings in 22% of their teachers (Pole de Dakar, 2010).

Teacher to student ratios affect education quality, number of teachers needed, and are quite variable according to country. There is a recommended ratio of 40 to 1 student to teacher ratio (Pole de Dakar, 2010) which is also the country average in sub-Saharan Africa (Burnett, 2008; Dembélé & Lefoka, 2007). However, some countries have an average higher than 90 to 1 (De Grauwe, 2009; de Kemp, 2008; Pole de Dakar, 2010)} and there is a 70 to 1 ratio in Congo, Ethiopia, and Malawi (Burnett, 2008; Dembélé & Lefoka, 2007). With little change in classroom sizes in 15 years (in sub-Saharan Africa), many teachers are necessary just to bring classrooms down to a reasonable size (Pole de Dakar, 2010).

With the large number of teachers necessary, teacher training and salary becomes a large issue: “the contradiction between massive requirements of teachers and necessity of qualified teachers is difficult to solve” (De Grauwe, 2009). Teacher training is also central to quality education as it can do more to raise standards than any other method (Curle, 1963). If teachers with less training require less pay, then a country can expand their teaching force for less cost - at the expense of quality. Teacher pay is a major issue in former French colonies where teachers were traditionally paid the same as if they were in France (Pole de Dakar, 2010). Their pay still reflects this past as teachers in these countries are paid more than in other developing countries (Pole de Dakar, 2010). Some countries, like Mozambique and Zambia, have the opposite problem with the need being to raise teacher pay in order to attract recruits (De Grauwe,

2009). The trend has been to recruit untrained teachers in many countries but the amount of experience and training vary (Pole de Dakar, 2010). While this trend has resulted in 16% more students being enrolled in 20 African countries (Pole de Dakar, 2010), there is a question of the minimum training requirement to ensure there is no loss in the quality of education (De Grauwe, 2009; Pole de Dakar, 2010).

This is also an area that has been affected by Western domination. As teacher salaries are a large portion of education budgets, the reduction in education budgets due to the harsh conditions that the World Bank, IMF, and the wealthy nations' SAPs enforced on heavily indebted developing nations in the 1980s also reduced teachers salaries. This forced countries to recruit fewer qualified teachers, thereby reducing the quality of education (Rose, 2003). In Malawi for example, SAPs reduced teacher salaries to half their real value of the 1970s (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010).

The logistics of recruiting and training so many teachers is difficult to fathom, especially if most nations' teacher education programs are designed to deal with 5% attrition. Attempting to train up to an additional 4% of your current teaching population per year puts a tremendous strain on these programs. As most of these teachers are needed in sub-Saharan Africa this project is especially daunting with many conflict-affected regions and high poverty conditions. By 2015 there will need to be as many teachers recruited as there are currently teaching in SSA (Bruneforth et al., 2009). Thus far Western influence has forced many countries to recruit less qualified teachers and reduce teacher salaries in order to reduce budgets. This is one of the ways that access to education has been expanded at the cost of quality education.

A Black Box of Information

The issues presented in the **Poor Policy Making** section are made more difficult because there is a lack of adequate information in developing countries where centres for educational statistics are lacking (Maurer, 2000). General information, like detailed and accurate statistics on student enrollment are necessary to good investment decisions (Bloom, 2007). Some information, like educational processes remain a 'black box' as there is a dearth of research (Kendall, 2007). Educational processes include the day-to-day functioning of the school, teacher hiring, teacher allocation, student to subject allocation, and other processes of this nature. The little data available may also be inaccurate as conflicting statistics may show out-of-school students ratios to be 10% higher than previously estimated (UNESCO, 2010). Information on the education system, such as measurement of outcomes, is not only important for decision makers but for the general public as well. Information raises public awareness and makes the government more accountable (Corrales, 2006). If a government knows that there are poor results coming from the education sector, they may be reluctant to provide information to the public, thereby hurting their own decision making capabilities in the process (Corrales, 2006).

In conclusion, policy makers have a large number of obstacles to overcome to achieve UPE: lack of qualified teachers, very low student achievement in some regions, and competing interests for educational funding and these decisions are being made with little research or information. In addition, international pressures have often served to either cause or exacerbate these problems. Mahbub ul Haq (1995) stated that "we

cannot plan for people if we start with imperfect knowledge about them” (cited in (Rampal, 2000, p. 2623). This quotation summarizes one of the major problems in the UPE agenda - it is developed in ignorance of the realities of the targeted regions. The next section describes the conditions set up by the international development community that have prohibited the achievement of UPE.

Western Domination of UPE

As documented in **Chapter 2**, Western countries have influenced the efforts for UPE since World War II. They have done this through donor countries’ own foreign aid agencies and multilateral organizations like the World Bank, IMF, and UNESCO. This section provides a description of this dominant influence that has followed the colonial era - Neocolonialism. The section continues by explaining the dominant economic political philosophy behind the policies that were put into place by neocolonialism, namely - neoliberalism. There is also a more detailed description of the economic philosophy used to maintain this domination in the education sector - human capital theory.

Neocolonialism

UNESCO’s *Education for All Monitoring Report 2010*, provides an example of developing countries being the focus of the challenges to international aid with less mention of the culpability of donor countries. In the report, aid dependency is discussed as a problem for developing countries in that it reduces domestic government revenue,

fuels corruption, and limits economic growth (UNESCO, 2010)³. Aid is wasted, stolen, and otherwise ill used because of poor governance (UNESCO, 2010). However, these observations overlook that the majority of aid allocation is influenced or dictated by the donating actor, often through conditions on loans. Neocolonialism is the description of the power that these actors maintain over developing countries.

Neocolonialism is defined as the efforts of colonial powers to maintain their domination of their former colonies through cultural and economic pressures despite sovereignty (Wickens & Sandlin, 2007). This is accomplished through unequal trade and financial agreements (Berthelot & Clandfield, 2008) and supported by foreign aid programs, providing technical advisors, publishing firms, and other means (Wickens & Sandlin, 2007). In education, neocolonialism started under the colonial system. As colonies, schools were set up to meet the needs of the colonizers and destroyed existing indigenous educational systems (Gueye & Some, 2008; Tilak, 1988; Watson, 1994; Wickens & Sandlin, 2007). This education legacy became a part of neocolonialism in that it was used to spread Western capitalist forms of thought after WWII through coercion from multilateral and bilateral aid agencies (Spring, 2008; Watson, 1994). More recently, neocolonial power in education can be seen in the dominant neoliberal education policies (Hursh, 2007; Lauder et al., 2006; Spring, 2008) where education is seen as an investment to develop labour for multinational corporations (Spring, 2008).

³ Yet another example of an argument limited to the economic concerns with no mention of the social concerns.

Dependence is a feature of neocolonialism. Dependent relationships were mostly formed between former colonies and their former colonial powers but were also formed in other poor countries in need of aid. Developing countries developed dependencies from structural inequalities in the global economy and the need for assistance from multinational corporations and international organizations (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001). After WWII, developing countries were voicing their displeasure with the world order as early as the 1960s with the formation of the Group of 77 (Mundy, 1998) who argued that donor countries had their own vested interests in giving aid to poor countries (Tilak, 1988). The key influence in this period was the Cold War and the communist-capitalist rivalry in foreign aid was familiar (Tilak, 1988). Thus development was not a genuine interest and aid contributed to a donor-recipient relationship of excessive imbalance (Tilak, 1988).

Neoliberal globalization gained steam after the economic crises of the 1970s and is descriptive of the current era of neocolonization. Globalization, or an “intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities” (Held, 1991 as cited in Torres, 2002) facilitates neocolonization and follows neoliberal concepts of social capital (Razi, 2006). Thus globalization is an exercise of neocolonial power and is tied into neoliberalism as it imposes neoliberal economic policies globally and promotes a Westernization of the world (Spring, 2008; Torres, 2002). Neocolonialism in the last 30 years has dominated the developing world through the forced dissemination of neoliberal policies through bilateral and multilateral financial agreements often using the World Bank, the IMF, and to a lesser extent the OECD and World Trade Organization (Harvey, 2008; Lauder et al., 2006; Mundy, 1998; Spring, 2008). As a conduit of

neoliberalism, neocolonization has affected global education spreading ideas of privatization and human capital economics (Spring, 2008; Wickens & Sandlin, 2007).

Evidence of neocolonialism comes from the separation of international development rhetoric to its policies and results of international development initiatives. The objective of helping developing countries to start industrialization and growth has clearly not been achieved as the gap between rich and poor nations has not changed in 50 years (Wickens & Sandlin, 2007). In 1980 the World Bank acknowledged that people living in rural areas of the developing world were worse off than 20 years prior (Watson, 1994). The flow of resources from advanced to the developing countries has been small and may have been used as a diversion from the unequal economic and political relationships (Tilak, 1988). What's more, these resources were often tied to the donor countries in the form of equipment or technical assistance; 93% of USAID's budget (the USA's ministry for ODA) was spent in the US before 1988, while 84% was the global average of official development assistance that was tied to the donor country (Tilak, 1988). The aid that was received often had little connection to the needs of the recipients and was more likely to obstruct the economic process than to help (Tilak, 1988).

As brokers of neocolonialism, the IMF and the World Bank have been the major players with the OECD and World Trade Organization (WTO) playing supporting roles. The major tool that the IMF and World Bank have used to dominate developing countries and push neoliberal policies are the aforementioned SAPs (Lauder et al., 2006). In order to receive debt relief, developing countries had to accept conditions -

neoliberal policies included in the SAPs⁴. While the IMF had more of an influence on these countries' policies in general, the World Bank has had more of an affect in education as they are the largest global financier in this sector (Rose, 2003). The result of these policies are explained in the following paragraphs (Lauder et al., 2006). The OECD and WTO have not played as large a role in pushing the neoliberal agenda. The OECD has acted as a think tank of the wealthy nations, providing the theory to their work in education and research on global education (Lauder et al., 2006). The WTO has had more influence on higher education with involvement in research and development, and intellectual property rights (Lauder et al., 2006; Robertson, Bonal, & Dale, 2002; Scherrer, 2005).

To see the power relationship in international organizations, the funding can be followed. The G7 controls 65% of the voting in the World Bank (Spring, 2008; Wickens & Sandlin, 2007) while voting with the IMF is proportional to funding - of which the G7 again provides the majority. The UN and its agencies show fewer ties to neocolonization since the UN is more democratic in nature; however, the World Bank provides a large amount of UNESCO's external funding (Wickens & Sandlin, 2007). In policies, the World Bank helps perpetuate neocolonialism by promoting neoliberal forms of economic development and labour-force training education programs (Wickens & Sandlin, 2007). The WTO promotes trade deals that are hypocritical; developing countries are forced to open their markets while OECD countries protect their own with

⁴ SAPs have been replaced by Poverty Reductions Structural Plans (PRSPs). These have a rhetoric declaring greater country-based support and focus on poverty reduction. However, they still follow the same neoliberal economic philosophy and recipient countries continue to have no power in decision making (Tarabini, 2010).

subsidies and tariffs (Berthelot & Clandfield, 2008). In general, neocolonialization is achieved by conditions placed on loans and grants that remove control from national governments, as was done with the SAPs of the 1980s (Wickens & Sandlin, 2007).

These trends continue despite neoliberalism's failure as a global economic policy. With neoliberal policies in the 1980s and 1990s, global economic growth never surpassed 1.4%; whereas growth in the 1960s was 3.5% and 2.4% in the 1970s (Harvey, 2008). In Africa there have been no advances to move away from neoliberal policies which have already resulted in stagnation and financial collapses in Latin America (Harvey, 2008). The Asian Tigers⁵ that neoliberals use to support their theories, are, in fact, contradictory examples. Neoliberalism calls for minimal state involvement while many of these countries, like China, are centrally planned economies (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002; Pereira, 1995).

To use Malawi as an example of a nation employing failed neoliberal policies, SAPs in the 1980s had a negative impact on their economy (Rose, 2003). Lowering government spending led to a contracting economy. This was evident in education as well where less spending led to a deterioration of an already low quality of education (Rose, 2003). In the 1990s with democratic reforms, the new government had little capability to remove the neoliberal policies. The dependency upon IMF and World Bank loans remained as did their neoliberal terms (Rose, 2003).

Neoliberalism and its corollary neocolonialism led to a rise of defensive and disciplinary forms of education policies (Mundy, 1998). Neoliberal policies were

⁵ Asian countries that have had a large amount of economic growth.

defensive in that they supported the powers of the new global economy by implementing business friendly educational programs like vocational training (Watson, 1994). They were disciplinary in that they used the conditions on loans (SAPs) that forced reductions in public spending on education (Benavot et al., 2006; Kendall, 2007; Tarabini, 2010). The results of these plans in education are catastrophic (Berthelot & Clandfield, 2008). They reduced education budgets without achieving the promised economic growth and poverty alleviation (Mundy, 1998).

Neoliberalism and Human Capital Theory

With conditions on loans being one of the main strategies to foster a dependent relationship, the resultant neocolonial philosophy becomes dominant. This has influenced both the funding for, and the structure of education globally. There has been an indisputable advance of the 'neoliberal education paradigm' (Berthelot & Clandfield, 2008; Hursh, 2007; Lauder et al., 2006), which is a form of education that emulates business where education is equated to human capital and economic development in a competitive global market (Spring, 2008; Torres, 2002). Human capital theory states that investment into people acquiring skills and knowledge provides the greatest rates of return on investment (Rose, 2003) with human capital deemed as the most significant form of capital (Becker, 2002). Thus investment in human capital is supposed to create greater economic growth for a nation. This theory has remained resilient to change and is the basis of the education policies of the World Bank, IMF, OECD, and even UNESCO and UNICEF (Gueye & Some, 2008; Rose, 2003). Investment in human capital is also meant to reduce poverty. As people raise their education levels and

qualifications, they will acquire better paying jobs as private investment will follow the improved labour prospects (Hall, 2009). In practice, human capital theory is evident in the policies of the late 1970s and 1980s where there was a focus on vocationalism and non-formal education (Grubb & Lazerson, 2006).

More recently, human capital theory has evolved into education supporting a 'knowledge economy'. Knowledge Economy is a term coined by the OECD (Lauder et al., 2006) and it describes how knowledge in the form of innovation and technology generates wealth, not capital (Spring, 2008). It is attached to human capital theory in that people need more education to increase their knowledge and qualifications in order to be more innovative and create new (profitable) technologies in order to stay competitive in a global economy (Guile, 2006; Spring, 2008).

However, the human capital theory that neoliberal organizations have been using to support their education initiatives is weak in both the education and economic fields. In education, these philosophies are not only out of touch with the demands of local cultures in developing countries but irrelevant in states on the verge of collapse (Spring, 2008). For example, the early pushes of the 'neoliberal education paradigm' promoted vocational training in developing countries. This training was for jobs that were valuable to multinational corporations but were non-existent in the country. The belief was that with the trained labour the jobs would come - but they never did (Hall, 2009). The human capital approach assumes newly trained workers will attract and get better jobs or can easily relocate to find such jobs (Hall, 2009). However, employment

problems are from societal structures, worker identity, and the economic role of the community (Hall, 2009).

With promotion of vocational training, mostly men gained access, thus women were pushed out of areas of employment they previously dominated - such as textiles. This served to increase the economic divide between men and women (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001; Sudarkasa, 1982). This narrow economic focus on education neglects other important features. The possibility of education to create social transformation - like greater equality and promoting democracy, are lacking in human capital theory (Berthelot & Clandfield, 2008; Rose, 2003; Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). The economic focus is also narrow in that it misses other challenges to growth - the social structure of the region and gross inequalities (Curle, 1963).

Economically and socially the human capital approach has also been detrimental. The result of these policies is education systems that worsen class and racial divides (Berthelot & Clandfield, 2008) and prevent large sections of the world populace from accessing economic and social minimums (Torres & Schugurensky, 2002). It not only failed to produce the promised economic growth (Harvey, 2008) but its philosophy of greater human capital leading to higher wages and economic growth has yet to be proven (Harvey, 2008). For example, wages are often determined by product demand and price and not the level of education reached by employees (Oketch, Mutisya, Ngware, & Ezeh, 2010; Tarabini, 2010). Without sufficient demand for labour with higher education there is an over-education in the labour market. That is to say that employees are over-qualified for their jobs or qualified for jobs that do not exist in their

region. These failures have led to critiques of these policies, concluding that they are designed to support multinational corporations and the more powerful countries and have no real interest in the development of poor countries (Spring, 2008). In the end, Western forms of education, like vocational training, continue to distort, misappropriate, and misinterpret people's lives and experiences (Dei, 1994).

Results of Neocolonialism

Funding for education has also reflected neocolonialism and not the needs of developing countries (Tilak, 1988). As noted earlier, funding for education in the developing world has largely preferred higher education rather than much needed primary education (Mundy, 1998; Tilak, 1988; Watson, 1994). Moreover, aid funding does not target the poorest countries. The World Bank had 53% of its educational loans for more advanced countries and France has a similar trend for its bilateral aid (Tilak, 1988). Thus redistributive ideals of education are ignored in practice and policies actively contradict the rhetoric.

Influence of multinational agencies and donor countries have disregarded indigenous cultures, local opportunities, and realities of local environments (Watson, 1994). Not only is there a domination of the Western formal system of education (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001; Spring, 2008) but other Western educational products are evident as well. The promotion of non-formal education such as technical and vocational training are frequently irrelevant or unsuitable for developing countries and is expensive as well (Watson, 1994). The study of English has been added to the standardized global curriculum and colonial powers' languages are still used throughout

much of Africa (Spring, 2008; Watson, 1994). The use of the former colonial powers' languages is a form of pro-Western propaganda (Gueye & Some, 2008), is undermining educational achievement and threatens local languages, cultures, and identities (Spring, 2008). In India this 'linguistic imperialism' is evident with the majority of books and journals being in English while only 2% of the population is fluent (Watson, 1994). In Africa, almost all scientific journals are in French or English, yet 80% - 95% of the population are illiterate in these languages (Watson, 1994).

Senegal and Burkina Faso are two victims of neocolonial power and the corresponding neoliberal policies in education. The World Bank used SAPs in the 1980s to reform the education systems (Gueye & Some, 2008). There was a reduction in educational spending, fees were introduced, and private schools were promoted. These changes resulted in the poor being left without access to education, a lack of quality teachers in rural areas due to greater opportunity being in the cities, and a system that reproduces privilege and gender inequalities (Gueye & Some, 2008).

Neocolonialism has resulted in neoliberal educational policies being pushed around the globe. UPE has suffered as a result. Western forms of education disregard local cultures, opportunities, and environments (Spring, 2008; Watson, 1994). While access to education is increasing, the education given continues to be dominated by the West. The languages of the powerful Western countries prevail and the inappropriateness of the curriculum leaves a big gap between school and life (Gueye & Some, 2008). The result is 72 million children without access to education, many in

school receiving a poor quality of education, and schools that are often crowded, with poor infrastructure and a police state like experience (Rampal, 2000).

Insufficient International Initiatives

As previously mentioned, the international development community has been promoting (at the very least in their rhetoric) universal education expansion since the end of the Second World War. The support has historically come from bilateral aid from individual countries or multilateral aid from multilateral organizations - UNESCO and the World Bank being central multilateral actors. However, on several occasions the entire international development community, made up of donor countries, recipient countries, multilateral organizations, and sometimes non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and civil-society organizations (CSOs); come together to agree upon a strategy or plan to achieve UPE. These gatherings or conferences are often initiated by the multilateral organizations: the World Bank or UNESCO (or its parent the United Nations). The current on-going initiatives that are discussed in this section are UNESCO's 'Education for All' (EFA) and its World Bank extension 'Fast Track Initiative'(FTI), the United Nations' 'Millennium Development Goals' (MDGs), and the Paris Declaration and Accra Accord for Action which are presented together as they both cover aid effectiveness.

Education for All

The Education for All initiative started with a conference in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990 and it was reaffirmed in Dakar, Senegal in 2000. The primary purpose of the

conferences was to spread the benefits of education to every global citizen. The conference proposed six goals:

- expand and improve early childhood care and education
- ensure by 2015 that all children have access to and complete, free, and compulsory primary education of good quality
- ensure the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through learning and life-skills programs
- achieve a 50% improvement in adult literacy by 2015
- eliminate gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005
- improve all aspects of the quality of education, especially in literacy, numeracy, and essential life skills

The goals are not expected to be met. There are 72 million children left without access to primary school with more girls being out of school than boys (UNESCO, 2010). Adult illiteracy and early childhood care continue to be a problem with 794 million adults being illiterate and many governments neglecting early childhood care (Limage, 2007). Delivering quality education is of particular concern as students in developing countries are completing primary school without minimum literacy and numeracy levels (Moon, 2004) as well as efforts in expanding access often proving to be detrimental to educational quality (E. M. Omwami & Omwami, 2010).

Reasons for not achieving UPE are country and region specific. Nevertheless, UNESCO provides some of the challenges that the EFA initiative has faced in its *EFA Monitoring Report 2010*. First, financing was not met to reach the goals and more

needs to be done to scale up financing. Second, developing countries need greater voice in educational planning. Hence donor countries continue to overly influence regional educational policies. Third, the report recommends the creation of a multilateral aid mechanism for education for better coordination of development actors in the education sector.

Strutt and Kepe add to the critique of the EFA initiative in *Implementing Education for All - Whose agenda, whose change?* (2010). The central theme to these critiques is that the rhetoric has not been followed by the appropriate actions. EFA states that policy should be based on countries' own priorities. However, countries that do not match the donor's policies may not be able to obtain funds. Furthermore, the empowerment that should occur from prioritizing countries' own plans has instead been replaced by greater aid dependency. This aid dependency has come from reduced national efforts for resource mobilization, pressure to meet international targets, and international - not local support for civil society organizations (CSOs). Moreover, the increased importance placed upon CSOs has not been followed with support. Often national governments leave them out to avoid the competition. Strutt and Kepe conclude that Education for All models the faults of development ideologies as a whole. While empowerment of developing countries is being promoted, there has been no change to the power relationship in decision making.

Thus EFA is just sugar coating the neoliberal education agenda (Gueye & Some, 2008). Western interests continue to dominate education policy making at the expense of developing countries. The EFA rhetoric is designed that national plans should be

supported but this has yet to be put into action. Nor have the promised resources materialized to make UPE a reality under EFA.

The Fast Track Initiative

FTI is the World Bank's vehicle for realizing the EFA goals and is an indicator of the World Bank's attempts to dominate the EFA initiative. FTI has a greater focus on educational quality and uses strategies that include eliminating school fees, better equipping classrooms, providing school meals, and transferring funds to families for school attendance (English et al., 2010) by means of a common fund that would provide predictable financing (Birdsall et al., 2005). FTI was also designed to support recipient country plans, promote aid effectiveness, and to have a transparent system of accountability (Bermingham, Christensen, & Mahn, 2009; Birdsall et al., 2005). The result of FTI was to provide developing countries with reliable, increased and long-term financial support for primary education (English et al., 2010).

However, the World Bank's work in global education is full of contradictions (Mundy, 1998) and has already proven to be a failed initiative (UNESCO, 2010). The neoliberal human capital basis of World Bank's work in education is at odds with expanding education in order to reduce poverty and is at odds with the goals of the World Bank's multilateral partners - UNESCO and UNICEF (Mundy, 1998). Furthermore, the top-down model used is contradictory to empowering national and local educational planning. This model led to undercutting some of the proclaimed goals. A top-down model, dominated by a 'donor club' (UNESCO, 2010) is neither conducive to supporting recipient country plans nor to promoting accountability. The FTI

fund was characterized by processing delays (Bermingham et al., 2009) and a lack of transparency in decision making - plans could be rejected with no explanation or appeal (UNESCO, 2010). Lastly, this model has proven to be a failure with its inability to mobilize financial support for its agenda (Mundy, 1998).

FTI is a recent example of the World Bank's failure in UPE. Commitments to support country plans and to provide greater financing were never put into action. Instead it is a donor-dominated underfunded initiative leaving it with little to no chance of success.

The Millennium Development Goals

The Millennium Development Goals (MGDs) are eight anti-poverty targets agreed upon by the United Nations with an ultimate deadline of 2015. Goals 2 and 3 (MGD2, MGD3) are taken from the EFA goals: to achieve UPE and to achieve gender parity in education. Achieving the education goals are considered to be crucial to achieving all the MDGs (English et al., 2010). The MDGs are important in that UPE has a key place among a diverse global strategy to reduce poverty. As stated above, these goals are not expected to be met with 72 million children left without access to education and a larger percentage of these children being girls (UNESCO, 2010).

The MGD education goals are too narrow in scope. There is only a focus on primary education and there is no mention of maintaining or improving the quality of education (Page, 2010). Furthermore, the MGDs were developed using human capital theory and thus put forth the same inherent failures mentioned in the previous section (Ellerman, 2007). The MGDs are also another example of a top-down initiative. They

were developed by the United Nations with the economist Jeffrey Sachs and are another example of top-down social engineering rather than bottom-up involvement in reforms (Ellerman, 2007).

The Paris Declaration and Accra Accord for Action

The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness was a conference of the various global stakeholders in international development in 2005 to address inefficiencies inherent in the current aid architecture (Bermingham et al., 2009). These inefficiencies include ill-defined objectives, inefficient service delivery, inadequate bureaucratic measures, and diverted money (Bourguignon & Sundberg, 2007). Or more simply, historically aid has been wasted on poorly conceived and executed projects and programs often encumbered with locally inappropriate conditions pushed by international partners (Bourguignon & Sundberg, 2007). The Paris Declaration tackles these problems with six actions: ownership by partner countries; alignment with countries' strategies, systems, and procedures; harmonization of donors' actions; managing for results; and mutual accountability (Gruber, 2011; Hayman, 2009; UNESCO, 2010). For recipient countries, these strategies translate into greater ownership of development policies and corresponding greater accountability (Hyden, 2008). Greater ownership is to come from donor countries contributing to the budgets of recipient countries rather than creating their own projects with aid funds (Gruber, 2011). For donor countries, the Paris Declaration requires greater cooperation with other development actors and to relinquish decision making power in favour of countries' plans.

The Accra Accord for Action was largely to support the principles of the Paris Declaration but also to push for faster progress (Hayman, 2009). A key addition to the Paris Declaration was aid predictability. Aid volatility, or unknown increases and decreases in aid from year to year, make development planning difficult and prevents a country from planning for long-term expenses - like teachers' salaries (English et al., 2010; Fredriksen, 2008; UNESCO, 2010). For example, in Yemen in 2007, less than half of aid arrived on schedule from donors and in Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nepal, and Sierra Leone less than half of aid was disbursed at all in the same year (UNESCO, 2010).

Both of these conferences are targeted at the new key phrase in international development - aid effectiveness. Aid effectiveness is the idea that foreign aid can be better used to fight poverty by reducing fungibility of resources⁶, tackling corruption and leakages, and promoting better allocation of resources to areas with the greatest returns. The following paragraphs detail the challenges that the new aid effectiveness agenda attempts to mitigate.

Fungible resources are often the result of a poorly coordinated international system of aid where there is an average of 26 different actors working in developing countries and from a donor dominated international development agenda (Kenny, 2006). With a multitude of actors, limited local resources are made fungible by diverting manpower to deal with each actor and sometimes having to work in many different systems. In the education sector, with the average of 26 actors (Kenny, 2006), this

⁶ Resources become fungible when many actors attempt to work in the same sector or area without coordination. In trying to do the same thing without coordination, resources are wasted.

would mean applying or securing resources 26 times, attempting to meet the conditions of the applications 26 times (possibly in conflicting ways), and reporting the results 26 times. The EFA agenda was donor created and driven. A donor driven agenda leads to fungibility of resources from the lack of inclusion of civil society and recipient countries (Strutt & Kepe, 2010). Objectives coming from abroad cannot be targeted properly in a local context. In Ghana this has led to a local civil society dependent on external funding, inadequate human and financial resources, and a poor understanding of objectives (Strutt & Kepe, 2010). In addition, there has been no move by the donor community to relinquish any power in decision making so that the EFA agenda is no longer donor driven (Strutt & Kepe, 2010). While the detrimental effects of donor dominated development initiatives are discussed at greater length in the **Neocolonialism** section (see pages 77 to 87), an example of international agents hurting the development process is the promotion of vocational training in developing countries by development partners - primarily the World Bank (Benavot et al., 2006). These programs were largely unsuccessful. They were characterized by a lack of public interest, a shortage of adequate teachers, and had little relation to the labour needs of the region (Benavot et al., 2006).

Corruption or the more positive sounding synonyms clientelism and leakage, have long been opponents of UPE. Clientelism is favouring one group over another and is the basis of elitist education. Developing countries with greater resources for tertiary education over primary (as previously mentioned) are possible victims of clientelism because the more wealthy and powerful of a region are much more likely to use secondary and tertiary education (Schofer & Meyer, 2005). Leakage occurs when

resources do not fully reach their destination and occurs where there is not an open accounting system of public funds (Ashford & Biswas, 2010; UNESCO, 2010). In education systems, it more often occurs with infrastructure projects but can also happen with international actors having high administration costs. While corruption does not always coincide with poor educational investment, reducing corruption results in higher education spending (Corrales, 2006). Whatever the label, the amount of resources reaching children can be abysmal. Uganda had 30% of its allocated funding reach its schools in 1995 while Ghana had 50% reach its schools in the same year (De Grauwe, 2009).

Foreign development partners have proven inadequate in addressing these problems. They have high operating costs themselves (Ashford & Biswas, 2010; UNESCO, 2010) and have few ways to penalize countries that fail to promote education with the designated funds (Isenman & Shakow, 2010). Furthermore, they have historically failed to monitor implementation (Corrales, 2006). This history has led to relationships where donors do not trust recipient countries to handle more aid because of corruption and leakage concerns while recipient countries do not trust donors because of fear of unpopular and inefficient reforms (Sperling, 2001).

These inefficient reforms may be apparent in the education development agenda which may be insufficient in scope. UPE has been pushed to the exclusion of other areas that extend from education (Burnett, 2008; Jones, 2008; Limage, 2007). Later opportunities are necessary in order for the education expansion not to be wasted. Lack of attention to expanding secondary school has previously been mentioned but

creating opportunities in the labour market would realize the economic potential of UPE (Tarabini, 2010). “Expansion of education is untenable so long as the supply of skilled labour exceeds the demand for it” (E. M. Omwami & Omwami, 2010). Inequality is another omission from the agenda. Decreasing inequality could increase economic growth and poverty but is missing from EFA and the MGDs (Tarabini, 2010). The education development agenda also ignores health and nutrition issues, and the realities of HIV/AIDS in many developing countries (McGrath, 2008).

Democratic governance is often preached by international education actors to promote better allocation of resources; however, decisions regarding implementation of education programming have rarely been democratic. International education actors disregard local economies and political actors when promoting education (Benavot et al., 2006). Least developed countries lack the resources to implement the recommendations put forth by the international community, leading to a waste of the effort. Furthermore, international education models are often inadequate and irrelevant in the local contexts (Benavot et al., 2006). These results could have been mitigated by decision making where donors and recipients have an equal, i.e. democratic, footing (Colclough et al, 2010).

Nevertheless, donor allocation of aid for education has not provided a good example to recipient countries. Education aid from many donors has not focused on primary education with many donors still prioritizing university scholarships (Burnett, 2008; Steer & Wathne, 2010). Nor do donors target the countries in greatest need (Steer & Wathne, 2010). The importance put upon strong institutions has led to the

exclusion of fragile states (Steer & Wathne, 2010). International actors have been strong on rhetoric but weak on follow-up regarding education aid with most allocation only weakly based on recipient country needs (Steer & Wathne, 2010).

Yet there is an argument that democracy is not necessary to expand education. Communist Russia provided education for more children than ever before in the country's history (Maurer, 2000). The Western education model itself was mostly set up under monarchies, and Catholic and Islamic schools have been around for centuries. More recently, education has been expanded greatly in China and other Asian countries with limited democracy (Maurer, 2000). This does not mean that democracy is not related at all to education but education and democracy are unnecessarily commingled (Maurer, 2000).

As discussed, the greatest challenge to providing UPE may be the lack of resources. Both national and international actors need to vastly increase financing for education in order to meet UPE goals. However, aid effectiveness is a plan to reduce these costs by ensuring the efficient use of resources. Resources are wasted or lost due to corruption, lack of coordination, and from a donor dominated agenda that does not address local contexts or realities.

For education and UPE, the Paris-Accra model of aid effectiveness has direct consequences. The international initiatives to achieve UPE largely use foreign and development partnerships to realize their goals; therefore, agreements on how aid is managed also affects how aid for education is managed. Greater country ownership for recipient countries translates into less fragmentation and waste of resources in the

education sector. As pedagogical and political ideals can be contradictory (Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008), aid effectiveness means that education planners would no longer have to meet the politically based conditions of the many development actors in their country. Furthermore, with greater coordination of these actors, local administration would have to meet with less development partners in total. Aid predictability also allows the education plans to be more effective in that they can plan for the longer term (UNESCO, 2010).

Like the previous initiatives, the Paris-Accra models of aid effectiveness has shortcomings in its strategy and in its results. The strategy is narrow in focus. First of all, there is no discussion on equality. Hence, there is no guarantee that development success of the method will benefit women or marginalized groups (Gruber, 2011; Wallace, 2009). Second of all, the major determinant of the success of aid effectiveness is economic growth (Bermingham et al., 2009), whereas foreign aid has only ever had a limited influence on growth (Armon, 2007; Bourguignon & Sundberg, 2007). This focus both supports the previously mentioned failed neoliberal agenda in development and lacks humanitarian definitions of development. Third of all, the switch to budget support of governments' plans presupposes trust between donor and recipient countries (Hyden, 2008). In fact there is a large fear of misuse of donor funds and fear of corruption (Bermingham et al., 2009). Without this trust it is very difficult for donor countries to give up their control of development projects and programs.

The lack of strategy to encourage donor's support of recipient's plans is reflected in donors' actions with little movement towards recipient countries' plans (Hyden, 2008).

Yet this mistrust may be misplaced as many poor countries have significantly improved their capacity to conduct good economic policies (Fredriksen, 2008). Therefore, donor countries have been unwilling to change their dominant position in the aid relationship (Fredriksen, 2008; Hyden, 2008; Kendall, 2008). The idea of country ownership actually has different meanings to donor and recipient partners due to an unclear definition in the Paris and Accra conferences (Hayman, 2009). Donors take ownership to mean that the recipient country is responsible for development results. Recipients take ownership to mean that they have the leadership in forming development policy (Hayman, 2009).

While government ownership through direct budget support remains more theory than practice (Colclough, King, & McGrath, 2010), harmonization of donors is another area of fledgling success. One of the initial problems is donor countries' reluctance to pool their funds and thereby have less actors for recipient countries to deal with (Colclough et al., 2010; Isenman & Shakow, 2010). It seems donor countries are not only mistrustful of recipient countries but of each other as well. Furthermore, there are new actors involved that do not agree with or follow the Paris-Accra agenda. For example, China has recently become the largest development financier in Africa (Le Monde, 2011) but as it is not a member of the OECD, it has little reason to follow these initiatives (Colclough et al., 2010). Additionally, where there has been success in harmonizing donors the results for developing nations may be negligible. The Paris-Accra agenda itself is giving recipient countries another set of conditions to meet and thus further takes valuable man-power away from other sectors (Isenman & Shakow, 2010).

What's more, direct budget support has had some unforeseen side-effects. The aforementioned mistrust of recipient countries means that direct budget support has occurred only for those countries with good governance. Thus governance has become more of an issue leaving out countries deemed to have poor governance, in particular, conflict afflicted regions (Bourguignon & Sundberg, 2007; Hyden, 2008; UNESCO, 2010). Other groups are left out by direct budget support as well; namely CSOs and NGOs. These organizations that sometimes found funding under the older development models are losing their funding when funding goes directly to national government (Gruber, 2011).

CSOs and NGOs are important for another area of the Paris-Accra agenda - mutual accountability. National governments need to be held accountable for the funds they receive in direct budget support while donor countries need to be accountable to the commitments that they have made. According to the Paris-Accra agenda, donors and recipients are to be made accountable to each other (Gruber, 2011). However, this leaves out accountability to the people for whom the aid is destined. CSOs and NGOs are instrumental in this respect (Hyden, 2008). CSOs can hold national governments accountable and international NGOs can hold donor actors accountable (Hyden, 2008).

In conclusion, the Paris-Accra model has been important to bring up issues that have plagued development aid: corruption, aid volatility, and inappropriate support. However, little has changed thus far. Donor governments continue to prefer their own systems limiting support for recipient governments budgets and plans and limiting

harmonization efforts. Furthermore, the rhetoric of including CSOs into the development agenda has not yet been realized.

Overall, international development initiatives have provided a framework and positive rhetoric to reduce poverty and achieve UPE. This has led to many more children having access to primary education in the 21st century. However, commitments continue to be missed, the dominating power relationship of developed nations over their developing partners continues to harm development efforts, and access to education has been promoted at the expense of education quality. As the rhetoric put forth has never been fully put into practice and with initiatives that continue to perpetuate a donor dominated agenda, achieving UPE appears to be decades away if not unrealizable under the current conditions.

Summary of the Data

In order to achieve UPE, myriad challenges need to be overcome. Countries with a large percentage of out-of-school children are often beset with a lack of schools, teachers, and instructional materials. The schooling that children do receive in many of these countries is far below the standards of wealthy nations; many students complete primary school illiterate and innumerate. In addition, there is a lack of information available for decision-makers to improve the situation. Little is known of the education processes beyond the number of students and teachers and even that information may be inaccurate. Besides this, the international community has provided further barriers to UPE. Neocolonial powers continue to dominate the efforts to achieve UPE. They have made a neoliberal agenda dominant in education which has been detrimental to efforts.

Inappropriate education forms are promoted at the expense of education quality and irrelevant to the local populations and environments. Dominant power relationships and neoliberal policies have also been evident in the actions following the major UPE initiatives leading to their failure.

The 72 million or so children left without access to education are already in difficult situations. Many are poverty-stricken in remote areas characterized by conflict. To reach these children will require a vast mobilization of resources, managed in an equitable way, with the ultimate goal of improving the lives and futures of many.

Chapter 5: Analysis and Recommendations

Analysis: Areas of Action to Achieve UPE

While the current initiatives to provide UPE are making progress, there remain large obstacles preventing success. 72 million children remain without access to school, largely located in Africa and in conflict-affected states. The education that is provided in much of the world remains of very low quality in comparison to the developed world levels. The agenda aimed to improve global education is dominated by the major donor countries and the multilateral agencies where they have the most influence - an agenda that ignores local voices and realities. This agenda is also traditionally underfunded. This section describes actions that may overcome these problems: where increased funding may be found, directions in which funding should be directed in order to increase access and quality, how to address education for conflict-affected states, possibilities to break the donor domination of global education, and present an initiative that could tackle many of these issues.

Funding

As reported earlier in this paper, there is an estimated \$7 billion USD gap in international funding in the effort to provide UPE (UNESCO, 2010). However, how this funding is produced is just as important as how much. A significant amount of foreign aid, from which external funding for primary education comes, is in the form of loans (Fosu, 2007). These loans can hurt the progress towards UPE in a couple ways. First, loans can carry conditions from the loaning body. In the 1980s the conditions were

embodied in SAPs which devastated education budgets. Second, loans add to an already large debt load that many developing countries carry.

There are two strategies to foreign funding that can empower developing countries in a manner consistent with the Paris-Accra agenda. Grants rather than loans are more effective in supporting developing countries as they remove the continuing conditions tied to loans (Loxley & Sackey, 2008). A supplementary measure, that directly supports the budget support initiative in Paris-Accra agenda is debt relief. Debt relief to developing nations directly frees up a country's own resources thereby giving them more freedom to support their social sector (Fosu, 2007). Binding debt servicing reduces public spending on education; hence, removing this debt servicing will increase resources going into the education sector (Fosu, 2007). What's more, reducing debt servicing will also decrease the dependent relationships brought about by neocolonial attitudes within funding agencies and donor nations.

In order to increase the overall funding to achieve UPE, Steer and Wathne (2010) provide a list of solutions. First, global education needs to capture the global stage. Donor agencies need to prioritize primary education and high profile leaders, as in the AIDS campaign, would help bring attention to the cause. Their second strategy is in-line with the Paris-Accra agenda: to improve the collaboration between donor agencies and promote country ownership of development plans. Third, there is a need to search for new partners and approaches. Innovative financing could fill a large chunk of the UPE financing gap. An example of this is the current 'Robin Hood Tax' initiative which places a small tax on international banking transactions with the money going towards

global social programming initiatives (Brassett, J. 2009). Non-traditional partners can be found in the form of philanthropic initiatives or with the new emerging economies in countries like India, Brazil, and South Korea (Steer & Wathne, 2010).

An emerging economy is already a major player in the development community - China. China is now the largest development lender to Africa and has a diverse platform for development. While the West is suspicious of China's intentions in Africa (Samy, 2010), the Beijing Summit on China-Africa Cooperation 2010 has produced some interesting initiatives. China plans to create a \$5 billion USD development fund for Africa, will cancel tariffs on 440 African imports, will double trade and assistance to Africa, and will cancel all loans to highly indebted poor countries (Samy, 2010). The development fund and doubling of assistance could provide more funding to education and increasing trade may increase government revenues that can then be used in their social sector.

Funding for UPE can come from new actors, new financing possibilities, and from debt servicing. Another possibility would be that the traditional actors in development could meet their commitments that they have made to development financing; however, other than in the case of some small countries in Europe, this has never happened.

Inclusion of Civil Society and Decentralization

The Paris-Accra agenda for development has already been presented in its failure to support developing countries' plans; however, this model includes actions that are meant to diverge from the dominant top-down model of development. Global cooperation is discussed as harmonizing donors and supporting plans of national

governments. Nevertheless, inclusion of civil society is included as important to aid effectiveness and effective global cooperation should require the cooperation of non-state actors as well (Gartner, 2010). Civil society is composed of local civic and social organizations that help the functioning of society, thus civil society organizations (CSOs) are often the representatives when different levels of stakeholders are included in policy making. CSOs perform many functions and are important for government accountability and to strengthen democracies (Birdsall et al., 2005; Gruber, 2011; Hyden, 2008; Olssen, 2006). Education and civil society can do this by empowering families and involving minority groups in participatory projects (Olssen, 2006). A key method of facilitating local and civic involvement in education is through decentralization. This section discusses efforts to bring education closer to the local populace of developing countries through supporting civil society and through decentralization.

The Paris Declaration for Aid Effectiveness did not include civil society despite having country ownership and accountability within its principles (Gruber, 2011; Wallace, 2009). This ownership and accountability was limited to a relationship between donor actors and national governments: civil society and priority groups were not addressed (Gruber, 2011). The Accra Accord for Action had hoped to promote a greater role for civil society but this fell under the general commitment for more ownership. This has yet to take place. Both donor and recipient countries have put CSOs to the side and the promoted country-led approaches have ignored civil society thus far (Gruber, 2011). Furthermore, CSOs have found it more difficult to find funding as their previous funding is now being filtered through the budget support of recipient countries (Campbell &

Teghtsoonian, 2010; Gruber, 2011). Moreover, there was no discussion on how to develop these partnerships with civil society organizations at Accra (Gruber, 2011).

To the Paris-Accra principles of harmonization, alignment, ownership, managing for results, and accountability, there is a need for multiple stakeholder governance including civil society organizations (Gartner, 2010). Strengthening civil society is most relevant to the principles of ownership and accountability. A strong civil society, embodied in groups like school committees and Parent Teacher Associations, is important in that it places decision making closest to the people involved (ownership), the people with the direct knowledge that can keep governments accountable (Galiani, Gertler, & Schargrodsky, 2008; Kendall, 2007).

While not ensuring that there is multi-stakeholder governance at the national or international levels, decentralization is an instrument that places more decision making capability in local hands (Galiani et al., 2008) and has proven to be very successful in expanding educational opportunities in China (McGrath, 2008). Yet commitments to decentralization are not always followed by action (Rampal, 2000). This is not only from higher level governments not wanting to relinquish their power and masked behind arguments of lack of capacity (Rampal, 2000) but there are also difficulties in implementing decentralization effectively. Where there is a scarcity of resources, social inequities may be exacerbated (Lugaz et al., 2010). Also, corruption is not unique to higher levels of government as at the local level there may be unequal power distribution and corruption as well (Galiani et al., 2008; Lugaz et al., 2010). In order for an effective decentralization in education there needs to be parental involvement,

transparency in the distribution of resources, and government supervision for evaluation and accountability (Lugaz et al., 2010; Michaelowa & Wechtler, 2006; Rampal, 2000).

In conclusion, having parents and communities participate broadly to set the agenda for what primary education is expected to accomplish could significantly improve the quality of education (Kendall, 2007). Decentralization is not a guarantee of accomplishing this involvement as in poorly governed provinces of Argentina (Galiani et al., 2008) but it can be very effective when done correctly. Decentralization or at least empowering civil society not only follows the goals of the Paris-Accra development model but can have a real effect on promoting primary education in local regions.

Changing Priorities in Education Spending

As noted in the **Poor Policy Making** section, allocation of educational funding to achieve UPE has largely reflected donor preferences. Educational spending in developing countries has disproportionally targeted tertiary education despite primary education providing the largest returns on investment (Gupta, Verhoeven, & Tiongson, 2002). Nevertheless, increased spending in itself may not create improvements (Gupta et al., 2002). Consequently, spending more related to the goals of UPE is a must for success (Steer & Wathne, 2010). UNESCO makes mention of some of these priorities in its *EFA Monitoring Report 2010*: stronger focus to social justice and human rights, targeting the most disadvantaged, and commitment to quality and equity. Yet little is said about how to realize these objectives. This section proposes several areas where educational spending should be directed to improve access to and quality of education.

One simple intervention is providing enough appropriate textbooks. Many developing countries have a major lack in this area; hence providing a textbook per student or even one per every two students is an effective policy measure to enhance learning (de Kemp, 2008; Michaelowa & Wechtler, 2006). However, this introduces a larger intervention - teachers, in that textbooks are only as useful as the teacher who uses them (de Kemp, 2008). Teachers are instrumental in a few areas of priority. Repetition rates, or the average number of students that repeat a grade, are a cause of major concern for costs where teachers can have an impact. Reducing repetition rates frees up funds, lowers drop out rates, and enhances educational quality by lowering student to teacher ratios (de Kemp, 2008; Michaelowa & Wechtler, 2006)}. Teacher training can help reduce repetition rates as well as improving learning results overall (de Kemp, 2008). Another intervention involving teachers is instituting more flexible methods of payment. Teachers in rural areas of developing countries have to travel to urban centres in order to be paid thereby missing significant periods of work (de Kemp, 2008; Michaelowa & Wechtler, 2006).

Student and family interventions are also areas to target to reach UPE. One intervention is in the area of health because health and education are mutually reinforcing. Health affects attendance and learning while people with higher education levels are also healthier. Health care improvements can range from providing medicine to students suffering from AIDS to implementing food programs (Birdsall et al., 2005; Kendall, 2008; Michaelowa & Wechtler, 2006). Food programs have multiple benefits in that they can increase attendance, provide additional resources to households, increase learning, improve health, and improve future productivity and income (Mutenyo, 2010).

Mothers themselves can be targeted to help achieve UPE. Additional resources from food programs are useful but providing literacy programs for mothers can also help motivate families to keep their children in school (Birdsall et al., 2005).

“We cannot plan for people if we start with imperfect knowledge about them” (Haq, 1995 as cited in Rampal, 2000, p.2623). This quotation leads us to the idea that educational spending needs to better target evaluation and monitoring as there is low quality and availability of education information in many countries that have not reached UPE (Birdsall et al., 2005). In countries that have education with poor quality, better evaluation of students is necessary to understand where they are having the most difficulties (Birdsall et al., 2005). This can be expanded in that there is little information about out-of-school students in the first place. There is, therefore, a need for more information concerning marginalized children in all areas in order to discover the different reasons that children are not being educated (Rampal, 2000; UNESCO, 2010). There is also little reliable information available in developing countries regarding drop-out and repetition rates and socio-economic background of students. Thus, where national examinations are in use, collecting data on students’ situations could be completed at the same time and would be useful for progressive policy making (Michaelowa & Wechtler, 2006).

In order to move towards achieving UPE, educational spending needs to better target the children that do not have access to education. First, there is a need for greater information about these children in order to identify their needs. Second, as most out-of-school children are poor and in difficult regions geographically or politically,

interventions need to address their physical and economic needs - namely food and health programs. Lastly, teachers need better training and resources in order to make school a worth while learning experience.

Improving the Quality of Education

While educational quality was touched upon in the last section, the dire situation regarding the quality of education in developing countries goes beyond a refocusing of education budgets. Moreover, improving quality reinforces the goal of increasing enrollment because parents are less likely to send their children to a school of low quality (Birdsall et al., 2005). Quality education is also essential to maintaining the positive outcomes (Winthrop, Perlman, & Greubel, 2011). Currently, there are many children in school who are not learning basic skills like literacy and numeracy. In some countries in sub-Saharan Africa, 40% of primary school graduates are illiterate (Winthrop et al., 2011). In addition, in many countries student outcomes have stagnated or regressed over the last decade (Winthrop et al., 2011), in some cases this regression has come from an over-emphasis on expanding access **. There are two important interventions that can improve the quality of education: ensuring that education occurs in the first language of the students in the early years of the primary cycle and investing in teachers.

While applicable to all continents, mother tongue based education is particularly important in Africa where the majority children without access to education are located and where the majority of schools use a foreign language in the classroom (Ouane & Glanz, 2010). With 400 languages in Nigeria alone, many children are left without

instruction in their own language (Ouane & Glanz, 2010). Multiplicity of languages makes primary education delivery difficult (Okpala & Okpala, 2006) and countries like Botswana have few teachers that speak the local languages (McGrath, 2008). First language instruction is important because a foreign language is too challenging for the early years and creates communication problems in the classroom while mother tongue instruction leads to better understanding of concepts and fewer repeaters (Ouane & Glanz, 2010). Therefore, using the mother tongue in the early years of education leads to higher quality education with improved school performance and literacy rates. Moreover, bilingual education is cost-effective by promoting equity, lowering repetition rates, and by growing a new local industry - creating classroom materials in a new language (Ouane & Glanz, 2010). This also decreases the effects of neocolonialism.

Teachers may be the key to achieving UPE. Not only is there a massive shortage of teachers in developing countries but teachers are the most important resource to improving educational quality (Rampal, 2000). Pole de Dakar is an African based research group under the UNESCO umbrella. In 2008 they produced *UPE in Africa: The Teacher Challenge* (Pole de Dakar, 2010). The following paragraphs summarize the recommendations from this study involving recruitment, teacher training, improving teacher allocation to schools, preventing teacher absenteeism, and teacher motivation.

Recruitment is important due to the need of 1.9 million teachers in order to meet UPE (Bruneforth et al., 2009; Pole de Dakar, 2010; UNESCO, 2010). To at least maintain educational quality, these teachers need to be competent which means maintaining minimum levels of schooling and teacher training. Women should be

targeted as they have a positive impact in keeping girls in school. Teacher motivation should be evaluated as interviews are rare in sub-Saharan Africa. Evaluation of teacher education is also necessary to ensure competency.

Teacher education faces challenges beyond evaluation due to a lack of specialized institutions and entrance examinations. This can mean that teachers with weak qualifications and inadequate training can be hired, leading to lower quality education. Length of teacher training is not found to be a problem; rather, its length can be shortened to help meet the need for teachers as long as there is a focus on the professional nature and quality of teaching (Michaelowa & Wechtler, 2006).

Improving teacher allocation is an important strategy to achieving UPE. Rural, remote, or disadvantaged schools find themselves with the greatest lack of qualified teachers. There is low appeal of these schools because of the low quality of life, the distance from public services, and lack of resources. In Malawi this leads to a student to teacher ratio of 36:1 in the cities and up to 120:1 in remote areas (Pole de Dakar, 2010). Uganda has similar ratios with 32:1 in cities and 93:1 in remote areas (Pole de Dakar, 2010). Remote rural areas are even less attractive to female teachers where some areas have only 4% of their staff being women (Pole de Dakar, 2010).

Problems of teacher deployment stems from three different areas: teachers' reluctance to go to these areas, the political personalities involved, and a lack of an effective allocation system. Teachers reluctance to go to these areas is because of the low appeal described in the preceding paragraph. Teachers tend to stay in urban areas where there is greater opportunity and living standards are higher. Political

personalities influence teacher deployment through favouritism and corruption. Teachers can influence their deployment through connections (favouritism) or by paying for the possibility to stay in the more desirable region (corruption). All of this is made possible from a lack of effective allocation system. A strong transparent system would ensure teachers are allocated where there is need and would be compensated accordingly.

Teacher allocation systems need to steer away from proven poor practices and promote positive interventions to get an adequate supply of teachers to remote rural areas. Inadequate bonuses and increased salary have not been successful interventions. Interventions that solve the logistical problems of remote rural areas may find more success. Adequate housing is often a problem and needs to be provided for teachers. Ensuring pay without having to travel is also important due to a lack of services in these areas. Pay through cell phones may solve this problem.

Having to travel to get their pay is also a cause of teacher absenteeism and lowering absenteeism can have a positive impact on quality of learning. Absenteeism is also a financial detriment to education systems costing 10% - 20%. In Zambia, \$17 million USD in losses were due to absenteeism. Another major cause of teachers missing work is health problems including malaria and HIV/AIDS. Health interventions can be effective in preventing absenteeism as well as better supervision and monitoring followed by ensuring consequences for missing work are carried out.

In the end, teacher motivation is important in reducing absenteeism and attrition at the same time as improving quality of learning. Teacher motivation can be improved by providing opportunities for promotion and professional development opportunities.

Overall, teachers are the most important resource for quality education (Pole de Dakar, 2010). To improve quality of education in developing countries interventions need to be implemented to ensure that teachers have adequate training, health plans that target malaria and HIV/AIDS, adequate support in remote rural areas, and are able to receive their pay in these areas. Also, female teachers should be recruited to encourage greater female student enrollment and teachers with the first language of the area should be recruited to improve results of early years students.

Fragile States

Fragile states, also known as conflict affected countries due to current or recent outbreaks of violence, are of immediate concern to UPE in that they contain around half of out-of-school children (Davies, 2009; McGrath, 2009). Additionally, only one quarter of global aid to basic education goes to fragile states and when foreign aid does go to a fragile state, education receives less priority than in other developing countries (Oketch et al., 2010; Save the Children, 2009). Education is a vital investment in fragile states because of its importance in guarding human rights and democracy, providing protection for children, empowering women, and enhancing trust and accountability of the state (Davies, 2009; Mosselson, Wheaton, & Frisoli, 2009; Save the Children, 2009). Deprivation of education can also increase the risk of conflict in a region in and of itself (Østby et al., 2009). The difficulties in fragile states are compounded both

internally and externally. Internally, fragile states are marked by weak governance and institutions leading to an inability to provide education (Mosselson et al., 2009; Oketch et al., 2010). In addition, fragile states receive less aid than other developing countries as donor countries prefer well-governed states (Bourguignon & Sundberg, 2007; Oketch et al., 2010). In order to achieve UPE, donor countries need to shift significant resources to fragile states to enhance their capacity in order to expand access to education and they need to greater inclusion of non-governmental actors in order to ensure expansion.

First, the gap in financing for education in fragile states needs to be closed. \$1.2 billion USD is currently being dedicated to primary education in fragile states while \$5.2 billion USD is needed (Save the Children, 2009). This greater funding then needs to be spent to develop a fragile country's capacity to provide education because a lack of capacity makes donors unable to disburse funds quickly (De Grauwe, 2009; Oketch et al., 2010). This is the process of strengthening organizations and institutions to make effective and efficient use of resources (German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2007). In education this translates into better management of expenditures, priority setting, monitoring and evaluation (German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2007).

Second, capacity development needs to be coupled with inclusion of non-governmental actors in fragile states. Governments are beset by an inability to provide access to education in fragile states due to tension, political turbulence, and sporadic violence (Mosselson et al., 2009). Reliable non-governmental organizations can fill this

immediate need with a greater ability to work in these situations (Bourguignon & Sundberg, 2007).

UPE efforts have an immediate need to target fragile states. Fragile states have a large percentage of out-of-school children and have a serious lack of funding. Meeting this funding should go to build capacity to ensure a country's own ability to provide access to education and to NGOs who can immediately provide education in difficult situations.

Summary of the Analysis

UPE has been an international priority since 1948. This goal is reflected in the current initiative of EFA and within the MDGs. It has been more recently supplemented by the aid effectiveness agenda put forth in the Paris Declaration and the Accra Accord for Action. Despite these initiatives there are currently 72 million children left without access to education - most of whom are located in developing countries, sub-Saharan Africa, in fragile states, and/or remote rural areas. What is more, education in countries with high numbers of out-of-school children is afflicted by low levels of literacy and numeracy, high dropout rates, and equality issues. Poverty is not the only cause of these results. Corruption is a problem in provision of primary education but the international efforts have often helped create or have compounded local difficulties. These international efforts have proven to be ignorant of the local realities and are pushed in a neocolonial manner with little input from the developing nations. International actors are also not working with each other making recipient countries

work with an average of 26 different agencies resulting in fungible resources and a waste of local man-power.

There are several areas of action necessary to move towards a successful UPE agenda. The first necessary action is to provide adequate funding, starting with the \$7 billion USD estimated. This funding can be come from new actors in the development community like the emerging economies of China, India, or Brazil; from new financing initiatives like a tax on international banking transactions; or from traditional donor countries meeting their commitments to foreign aid. The second necessary action is to better allocate educational spending to improve access to and quality of education. Teachers are the key to both of these initiatives. To improve access, funding needs to be made available to hire the 1.9 million teachers necessary to teach the 72 million children out of school and measures like bonuses need to be in place to ensure these teachers are enticed to go to the remote rural areas where many out-of-school children reside. Adequate teacher training and professional development is then important to improve the quality of education. Training for teachers or potential teachers in order to provide maternal language education in the early years of primary education is also important to improve educational quality. Lastly, priority needs to be placed on fragile states as they contain up to one half of children without access to education.

This priority for fragile states should be implemented in a manner that reflects a change in the donor dominated agenda to provide UPE. Due to the lack of capacity of fragile states this can be done by using the experience and capacity of NGOs to work in these situations. In other developing countries, CSOs and local groups need to

included in the effort to provide UPE through inclusion and decentralization. Decentralization ensures that resources and decision making get much closer to the people they are trying to help. The key to inclusion of local actors in decision making is to ensure that new policies are relevant in the local context and thereby making them more effective.

Recommendations

This paper has shown that the efforts to provide UPE have been underfunded and mismanaged at a global level. These initiatives have been developed and pushed by the wealthy Western nations of the world and have been forced upon developing nations through various means. Not only have these efforts been self-serving and inappropriate for the local context but they have rarely, if ever, included the people that they are purported to help. This has led to 72 million children being left without access to school and millions more that complete a basic education without acquiring basic literacy and numeracy skills.

The purpose of this paper is to inform international development policy makers of the background and results of UPE efforts in order to change the orientation of the current and future efforts towards UPE. If it is recognized that efforts to provide UPE have been mismanaged then the question remains - what should be done? I have two recommendations that are designed to break the cycle of domination. The first is the adoption of a new philosophical basis as the foundation for UPE efforts - the Freirean Perspective. The second recommendation is the creation of a new international institution to collectivize, govern, and lead a new era of trying to reach UPE. This body

would be modeled on the successful Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria (henceforth known as the Global Fund).

The Freirean Perspective

Paulo Freire was a teacher in Brazil who fought for the rights of peasant farmers. From his work with these poor farmers he developed his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*⁷ and many other works that provided the inaugural philosophy of Critical Pedagogy (McLaren, 1999). While Critical Pedagogy is or would be important to developing countries' educational programming due to its community and anti-discrimination focus (McLaren, 1999), the background philosophy upon which it is based, henceforth referred to as the Freirean Perspective, is more relevant to the global efforts to achieve UPE. The Freirean Perspective starts by recognizing education as an act of colonization (or neocolonialism) that reproduces the domination of the more powerful entity (Freire, 1970; Kumar, 1998). According to Freire, education should be a liberating exercise where pedagogy is forged with and not for the people (Freire, 1970; McLaren, 1993). This section describes how the adoption of the Freirean Perspective can serve to break the cycle of Western domination that has often poisoned UPE efforts before they start.

The Freirean Perspective is not meant to be pedagogical rules to be implemented in an education system but an "attitude situated at the level of an ethical intention and based on respect for others" (McLaren, 1993). This is important because the Western

⁷ Freire's use of 'the oppressed' will take on a more specific meaning for the purposes of this paper. He refers to those suffering domination from a powerful or elite group. The oppressed under efforts to achieve UPE are those left without access to education.

domination of UPE very closely corresponds to Freire's definition of oppression in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Freire describes education as an alienating process by dominant elites who fail to think about or include the people when making policy (Freire, 1970). As well, these efforts are couched in terms of false generosity (Freire, 1970). Hence, this is very similar to the international efforts and failures to push their form of UPE on developing countries without any real consultation with the people. These efforts were also self-serving (more so with the neoliberal policies), thus being 'falsely generous'. The Freirean Perspective presented here is designed to provide a new approach to providing UPE.

The tenets of the Freirean Perspective most relevant to UPE are cooperation, dialogue, and empowerment. Cooperation is important as Freire did not advocate education to be done in isolation. That is to say that the response to (neo)colonial domination should not be the total rejection of external actors but that local communities and higher level actors, such as national governments and international actors, should work together (Bertrand, 2003; Kumar, 1998). And rather than having dominant elites who make policy without the people, it is absolutely essential that the oppressed participate in the process (Freire, 1970).

Cooperation is important to UPE in order to change the prevailing top-down approach which has been ineffective in local contexts. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire discusses the 'banking' tradition of education where a teacher deposits knowledge upon the students (Freire, 1970). This is descriptive of UPE efforts where international actors are depositing schools on communities. A cooperative effort to

increasing access to primary education would mean international actors working with local communities in order to support an education plan that is relevant to the local realities. Freire himself discussed the ideal being the promotion of education projects that are carried out with the organization of the oppressed (Freire, 1970).

Dialogue is essential in ensuring real cooperative efforts and serves to ensure that the voices of the oppressed are included (Freire, 1970; Kumar, 1998; McLaren, 1993). There are three steps to effective dialogue under the Freirean Perspective: maintaining a non-hierarchical relationship among people and creating a moment of reflection in the making of reality which result in democratic communication that attacks domination and affirms the empowerment of participants (Bertrand, 2003). This is a description of how international actors should engage with the local representatives for the intended results. Speaking with the local people as equals ensures that policies are made that are respective of the local environment. This then serves to empower the local, formerly ignored community.

The final stage of the Freirean Perspective is the empowerment of the oppressed. Friere's strategies are designed to destabilize dominant strategies of power and invite people to be shapers of their own destinies (McLaren, 1993). In this manner education is a democratic process of empowerment which is built around dialogue and social transformation (Bertrand, 2003). This would ensure a form of development beyond the narrow economic version that is the basis of international actors in UPE. Development for Freire goes beyond per capita income and instead includes freedom and the ability to 'be for oneself' (Freire, 1970). Dialogue and cooperation in the attempts to provide

UPE would serve to empower local communities and make the efforts more effective since the local realities would no longer be ignored.

The Freirean Perspective would be an important turning point in the orientation of UPE efforts. It would mean a change of attitude away from ‘false generosity’ to where people are treated with respect when attempting to improve their lives. Cooperation and Freirean dialogue would serve to empower the people and lead to education that would make a real difference in the lives of those to whom the dominant powers remain ignorant. This attitude change would have to be voluntary and thus needs a better system to ease its implementation. The next section provides an example of a new structure that would be able to facilitate this change.

A New Structure for UPE

It should be clear that the conferences and attempts to achieve UPE thus far have been largely impotent. Funding commitments have not been met, the many actors involved are not willing to work together, self-interest rules actions where there is little accountability or monitoring. Recently, there has been a successful initiative that can provide a model for future efforts to achieve UPE - The Global Fund. I believe a new body that would govern and lead UPE efforts modeled on the Global Fund and with an orientation developed from the Freirean Perspective could succeed where previous attempts at UPE have failed.

The Global Fund was created because international institutions were seen as too bureaucratic and slow, powerful and arrogant, and unwilling to give a seat to CSOs (Isenman & Shakow, 2010). The Global Fund has several features that would remedy

the reported deficiencies of UPE efforts to date. The first area of improvement is in the area of finance. The Global Fund is a pool of funds from the World Bank, donor countries, private philanthropy, and 13 companies (Isenman & Shakow, 2010; UNESCO, 2010). Pooling funds is an instrument that would fit in very well with the goals of aid efficiency. Cooperation is a major part of aid efficiency where aid becomes fungible with many actors operating in the same region. Pooling funds for UPE would increase resources by streamlining the process for funding educational projects - one large independent body would handle funding rather than multiple bilateral and multilateral donors. Furthermore, financing granted by the Global Fund is on a long-term basis (UNESCO, 2010). This again corresponds to the tenants of aid effectiveness where donor funding has often been inconsistent from year to year. The five year cycle of financing from the Global Fund would make educational planning in developing countries more effective since funding would be more predicable. In addition, the long-term financing is performance based (Isenman & Shakow, 2010). This would incorporate greater accountability into UPE that has been lacking in past efforts.

The governance of the Global Fund would also revive UPE. The Global Fund has broad based global representation giving greater voice to more people (UNESCO, 2010). CSOs and the private sector are given key governance roles alongside traditional decision makers like the World Bank and wealthy countries (Isenman & Shakow, 2010). As often mentioned in this paper, real inclusion of CSOs and local representation would enable UPE efforts to be more relevant for communities and corresponds to the Freirean Perspective. One of the keys to this governance is that the Global Fund is an independent institution; therefore, there is less of the excessive rules

or political influence found at the World Bank and United Nations' agencies (Isenman & Shakow, 2010).

The decision making at the Global Fund also serves as a strong model for UPE efforts. There is an independent review panel that uses evidence based evaluations in order to rank proposals for a more balanced governing board consisting of the members mentioned in the previous paragraph (Isenman & Shakow, 2010; UNESCO, 2010). There is also a review process that allows for greater transparency which is lacking in initiatives like FTI (Isenman & Shakow, 2010; UNESCO, 2010). In addition, this system has proven effective for those most in need. One third of the Global Fund's activity has been in fragile states (UNESCO, 2010). This is an area where UPE has found it most difficult to make any progress.

A Global Fund modeled independent institution for UPE would provide developing countries with reliable, increased and long-term financial support (English et al., 2010) with greater inclusion of national and regional actors (Isenman & Shakow, 2010; UNESCO, 2010). The inclusion of more voices like national parliaments and CSOs is a key step to achieving UPE by making the efforts relevant to the local contexts. Furthermore, a UPE institution could then orientate its expansion efforts in the Freirean Perspective, thereby creating a bond with the target groups of people and leading to real human development - not the narrow definition of economic development attempted to date.

Conclusion

This paper has used Grounded Theory to bring out the deficiencies and failures of the attempts to achieve UPE. With a Critical Theory philosophy, this information is intended to make UPE decision makers aware of the reasons for the failures to achieve UPE. I found that international efforts to achieve UPE have been under-funded and dominated by Western and neoliberal philosophies in education. These philosophies have often served to hinder efforts to UPE rather than support them and were irrelevant for the local populace and environment. The result of these efforts is 72 million children continuing without any access to education and countless more receiving an education that leaves them illiterate and innumerate.

Knowing that previous UPE efforts have been inappropriate and ineffective, I hope that future efforts will try to include local and national groups in a democratic and equal manner in order to achieve real results. I propose two steps that may achieve success where others have failed. First, create an independent institution for UPE. This institution would be modeled after the Global Fund in that it would have broad global representation and funding from CSOs, national parliaments, private actors, and multilateral agencies. Such an institution needs an independent panel to review proposals and broad membership from the above-mentioned groups in the decision making board in order to ensure transparency and fairness when making decisions. The second step is to orientate such an institution in the Freirean Perspective and not the destructive neoliberalism that has dominated UPE in the past. The Freirean Perspective would ensure respect and democratic accountability for the targeted groups

through the use of dialogue when proposing educational projects. Furthermore, this perspective serves to empower the targeted groups, thereby promoting democratic ideals from the very beginning of the process.

Another contribution of this paper is the illustration of development work in education coming full circle over its 60 year history. Following WWII, universal education was promoted for its redistributive abilities in a welfare state system. UNESCO was created to fulfill this ideal and began its work by collaborating with CSOs in the developing world. It was soon corrupted by capitalist and political forces and universal education has followed narrow economic foundations since. Currently, the rhetoric of the international conferences and community are back to including local groups and the effects of the financial crisis hitting the non-wealthy of the world are causing more questioning of the global neoliberal policies of the last 30 years. However, like at the start of the Cold War, little action is following the rhetoric.

It may be unrealistic to think that a simple thesis can change the attitude towards international efforts. However, Freire remained idealistic in his vision of social transformation through education and such things need to start with small steps. I hope that informing others on the failures to provide UPE will result in more positive actions and I believe that it is in pursuit of the ideal that real progress can be made.

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